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Pro-Slavery.

THE RED RAG OF CUBA FOR THE SOUTH.

From The Charleston Mercury.

FROM time to time it has been stated in the newspapers, North and South, the Administration intends to purchase Cuba from Spain. And of late the attention, particularly of the Southern public, has been studiously invited to this most agreeable subject. The probability of such an event it therefore becomes us to consider, and to point out to the people of this section the quarter from which the story emanates, and the motive with which it is used.

That Mr. Buchanan would willingly purchase Cuba, were he the treaty-making power of our Government, we do not doubt. But supposing he had all power on the part of the United States, it takes two to make a bargain, and *what does Spain say? Will she sell?*

Not over three years since, the Spanish Cortes unanimously repelled the idea with the utmost scorn and indignation. Not two months since, we saw that a shipment of eight millions of dollars was sent from the authorities of Cuba to the Government in Spain. Spain lives on Cuba. It is the only productive portion of the kingdom —the chief support of the Government and the throne. *Interest, if not existence, requires her to keep Cuba.*

Nor is interest alone involved; there is a feeling also. It was some twenty years after the South American Republics had won their independence from Spain before Spanish pride would acknowledge their independence. Will this pride now consent to alienation of the richest portion of the kingdom?

Besides pride, Spanish resentments, too, came in play. For these are as intense against the United States, especially, as Spanish pride is generally impracticable. Spain has been kept in continual alarm by demonstrations in the United States against Cuba. So that even did she feel that her dominion in Cuba was held by an uncertain tenure, *the United States are the last people to whom she would sell, if she had to sell.* But now, since the late decided acts of the Government of the United States against Walker in Nicaragua, she has reason to feel secure of her possession. The last papers speak of a reshipment of the greater part of the forces in Cuba to Spain.

So much on the part of Spain. But if Spain would agree to sell Cuba, will the United States buy? Could a treaty, negotiated by the Administration to purchase Cuba, receive the assent of the Senate of the United States, as is necessary? If the Northern wing of the Democratic party can be got with no small reluctance to vote for the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State with a pro-slavery Constitution, although assured it shall shortly be made a free State, what possible chance is there that they would vote for the purchase of Cuba to be admitted into the Union as a slave State? Such is the case now. What will it be hereafter? If President Calhoun sends from Washington certificates of election to the Legislature of Kansas, to the Free State party, two more Abolition Senators will be added to the Senate. Two more come from Minnesota, and two more from Oregon. How beautifully less then will be the chance of getting a treaty making Cuba a slave State in the Union! *Let not the people of the South be deceived. There is no hope for Cuba.*

Now, in view of all these improbabilities of the purchase of Cuba for admission into the Union, why is it that, without evidence of a single effort on the part of the Government of the United States, we see it continually suggested by Northern papers, and echoed and caught up in this section, that the South is to get Cuba? The object is obvious. It is anticipated that the South will be cheated out of Kansas. *To allay Southern feeling and opposition, the red flag of Cuba is trolled on the waters of discontent before the Southern vision as an attractive bait.* The Government will procure an equivalent for Kansas and California in the acquisiton of Cuba. Hence, conversations are manufactured for the President of the United States, which, as a prudent man, at the head of the Government, if intent on such an object, it would be most absurd to utter. Rumours are concocted and circulated, predictions put forth, confident expectations expressed, that Cuba is to be the grand instrumentality of adjusting the balance between the South and North. We look upon all these suggestions as pleasing deceits—baits manufactured for party purposes—to quiet the South in the progress of the North to mastery in the Union. Cuba might be conquered, but we believe that *there is no more probability of the United States purchasing Cuba than buying the half of Africa.*

Senator Seward's boast is true. The battle of Southern rights and Southern equality in the Union was fought in 1850. The balance of power was lost. The South was overcome by exclusion from California in her unrighteous admission into the Union. The North then gained the inevitable majority in the Senate. With the power of limitless expansion, the control of the government was won. The North will keep the power we then surrendered. Now, the fight is for a tardy and one-sided justice in Kansas. Yet this is a struggle in which we need all our eyes and all our efforts to secure success. *Let us not be beguiled about Cuba, to give ground.* What the exigencies of the times have given us to do, let us do it with all our might. No distractions now—no squinting towards the evergreen isle. The South must be earnest and united, and Kansas is the battle-field.

HON. MR. HAMLIN IN HEROICS.

THE Free Soil pressure from without is impelling the representatives of that sentiment in Congress to a premature avowal of principles which their better judgment would withhold. Hence Mr. Seward has avowed his determination to war for the "emancipation of all men." Hence various members of the lower House have declared their purpose to vote against the admission of any new slave State; and, in obedience to the same inexorable mandate, the Hon. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, has made proclamation that "The people of the Union mean to stand by the Union. The South could neither drive them out of the Union, *nor should they go out themselves.*" Now these last are valorous words upon paper; yet when we look upon Mr. Hannibal, who is a dark complected and under-sized person, speaking on behalf of a State whose chief products are pine logs and cranberries, and which supports little save catchers of codfish and Congressmen, one would not suppose that either he or the constituency he represents were precisely the people to keep anybody from going wherever they wish.

We think we see the immediate cause of this indignant resistance to a separation of the States. It is to be found in the proposition of Mr. Clay, of Alabama, to repeal the act giving bounties to the fishermen.

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But the Honourable Hannibal has undertaken a difficult part. Perhaps his patriotic papa may have dedicated him, after the fashion of his Carthagenian namesake, to an eternal hostility. It may be his mission was against all who question the tribute of Fish. But he should remember that his great namesake was not a man of fire and thunder, but of patience and fortitude. He commanded the runaways of Rome, as Mr. Hamlin may do those of Alabama, but he will find himself in the end foiled, defeated and destroyed. In this alone will there be any parallel between the Hannibal of the Alps and him of the Codfish and Mackerel.

But the Senator from Maine may live to see the day when his futile threats will recoil upon him. He may witness a separation of these States and a formation of another Union which, including the common commercial and manufacturing States of New York and Pennsylvania, the provision States of the North-West, and the planting States of the South and South-West, may exclude from their companionship forever those who, like Mr. Hannibal Hamlin and his constituents, are too pure to live in the same government with a slaveholder, and only tolerate his society that he may pay them bounties upon mackerel, corn brooms and cotton cloth. Stranger things have happened, even in the history of this Republic, than that the constituents of the Hon. Hannibal should yet pay tonnage and custom-house duties for the privilege of entering the ports and trading within the limits of the United States. If the peace of this country cannot be preserved against such incendiaries as Mr. Hamlin, we shall be obliged to consider the power of the States to expel from the Union those who disturb its harmony and conspire against its most important interests. *We sometimes think if the whole of Yankee land was cut out like a cancer, we should have a very quiet and prosperous career.* So let the Hon. Hannibal reflect, lest, in maintaining that the South "shall not go out of the Union," himself and his constituents are kicked out of it and compelled to catch codfish for nothing. We can conceive no more intense grievance to an interest so intolerant and so mercenary.—*The (Richmond) South.*

The Liberator complains, and not without reason, of the decline of abolitionism. The impracticability of the object sought, and the impracticability of the men engaged in it, who can agree upon no general way of accomplishing what they could not effect all together, if they should work in entire harmony, are sufficient reasons for their falling off. The people of the free States have no more to do with slavery in South Carolina and Alabama, so long as it is within the Constitution of the United States, than they have with slavery in Turkey or in Russia. The extension of slavery over new territories, the reduction of the free States to the condition of submissive provinces of the Slave Power, the perversion of the whole influence of the Government to the purposes not merely of slavery, but of slavery aggression, are matters in which the free States have a concern and a right. With the decline of abolition, which is an aggression upon the South, has risen an increased feeling of resistance to the aggression upon the North, a feeling that we will not encroach, and will not be encroached upon. This is really and truly a "national" feeling. The Democratic party has become as sectional as the abolition party. The conservative, patriotic, manly and sensible feeling of the country is equally between the two.—*Providence Journal.*

Selections.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN RELIGIOUS TRUTHS AND AMERICAN INFIDELITY.

SPEECH OF MR. GIDDINGS, OF OHIO,

Delivered in the House of Representatives, February 26th, 1858.

UPON THE ISSUES PENDING BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN REGARD TO FREEDOM AND SLAVERY.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Questions of mere economy, those which relate to banks, to internal improvements, or protective tariffs, no longer occupy the public mind. These subjects have given place to questions of more transcendent importance, to those which relate to the rights of mankind, to the religious, moral and political elevation of our race. The discussion of these subjects has, in all past time, been attended with agitation and excitement. It brings the rights of the people into conflict with despotism, whatever may be the form of government under which the discussion takes place. Such is now the condition of this mighty nation; our Union is shaken to its very centre by the agitation of great and undying truths. Our Government is vibrating between freedom and tyranny, and it becomes us thoroughly to examine the religious basis on which we found our political action.

The late message of the President in relation to Kansas is without precedent in the history of executive communications to this body. Its tone of contempt for the people of that Territory finds no precedent in our Government, while the language of the people of Kansas, expressed by her Legislature, is most extraordinary for sovereigns to use towards a servant already arraigned before the tribunal of the popular mind, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

Under these circumstances, I have thought that the best service I can render to the people on the present occasion would be to analyze the subject which now absorbs the popular mind, and, so far as able, to define the issue now pending before the nation.

That issue is founded upon fundamental religious truths, which are maintained by one political party, and denied by the other.

Immediately after the last Congress adjourned, the men who wield the judicial and executive powers of Government publicly denied the great primal doctrine of our Government, "*that all men are endowed by their Creator with inherent, equal and inalienable rights.*" They essayed to obliterate the line of demarkation drawn by our patriot fathers between the despotisms of a darker age and the rights of mankind as understood in this nineteenth century.

The annual message of the President, in its leading positions and in its details, wholly disregards those rights of human nature, and speaks of men, created in the image of God, with undying spirits, with eternal destinies, as transformed into *property*, in direct contradiction of those truths which the American people have long regarded as "self-evident."

It will be my object to render this issue more distinctly obvious. Its importance is transcendent; and however fully other gentlemen may have appreciated it, I feel constrained to admit that I have failed to comprehend its vastness, or set bounds to the consequences naturally resulting from its decision; yet every member of society is bound to examine and to act upon his own responsibility.

Our fathers, recognising God as the author of human life, proclaimed it a "self-evident" truth that every human being holds from the Creator an inalienable right to live, to sustain and protect life, attain knowledge, elevate his moral nature, and enjoy happiness.

These prerogatives were recognised as "*gifts of God,*" lying behind and above human legislation; and the founders of our institutions proceeded to declare that governments are instituted among men to secure their enjoyment. Thus our Republic was founded on religious truth, and it was thus far emphatically a religious government. It has ever been sustained by the religious sentiment of the nation; and it will only fail when this element shall be discarded by the people. The attempt now made to overthrow these religious truths demands the severest condemation.

There are but few men who openly deny the existence of a Supreme Being, or that he is clothed with the attributes of infinite wisdom, truth and justice; or that men are religious in degree as they bring themselves into harmony with those divine qualities, make them their own, and assimilate their characters to that of Deity. This is the sense in which I use the term "religion." I do not speak as a sectarian. Indeed, sectarians do not regard membership as religion, but merely as the evidence of religious feeling on the part of the individual. All admit that those who are wise, truthful, just and pure, of all denominations, and men who, possessing these attributes, belong to no particular sect, are the truly religious men of earth.

I am conscious this examination of the religious character of our Government will subject me to criticism; but I assert, if there be a place on earth where religion, where wisdom, and truth, and justice, and purity of purpose, should be observed and practised, this Hall constitutes that place. If there be a class of men on earth who ought to be religious, who ought to be wise and truthful, and just, and pure of purpose, the members of this body ought to sustain that character.

I repeat, we all acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being; that he is the Creator; that we are brought into life by His will. At this point, the American people separate into two great parties—one holding that sovereignty dwells alone with the Creator, and not with men; that kings, potentates, and all human governments, are subjected to the "higher law" of the Creator, and authorized to legislate only for the protection of the rights which God has conferred on mankind. Another portion deny the existence of the "higher law," and insist upon the perfect and unlimited sovereignty of human governments over the lives and liberties of the people. To be more explicit, the religious portion hold that, as God gave life to the human race, He conferred on each a right to that liberty which is necessary to become wise, truthful, just and pure; to bring himself into harmony with the law of God, and enjoy happiness; that these rights are equally self-evident as the existence of our race; that they are *inherent, inalienable* and common to all men; that they constitute the great moral ligament which binds man to his Creator, connects earth with heaven, and unites the human race in one common brotherhood, bound by the most sacred obligations to love, revere and obey our Universal Father. Of the possession of these rights, every sentient being is conscious. When God created man, and breated into him the breath of life, when man became a living soul, this consciousness formed a part of his moral nature; and never, in any age or in any climate, has man, even in his rudest, his most barbarous state, been unconscious of his right to live, to nourish and protect life, and seek his own happiness.

These rights constitute an element of the human soul; they cannot be alienated by the individual; nor can any association of men, or any earthly power, separate the humblest of the human race from them. Men may rob their fellow-man of the food which he gathers for his own support; they may deprive him of the power of self-defence; they may bind his limbs and scourge his body; they may prevent him from attaining knowledge; but his *right* to the food which he gathers, to defend his person, to attain knowledge, will remain unchanged. Their *crimes* will in no degree affect *his right.*

This relation of man to the Creator is repudiated by a portion of the American people. They deny that we hold any inalienable rights from God. They deny that the right to live, to protect life, and to attain moral elevation and happiness, is derived from Heaven, or is superior to human enactments. The denial of these fundamental religious truths I can characterize by no other term than "*American infidelity.*" This first and primal issue literally separates the religious from the infidel portion of our people. In using this language, I do not seek to cast opprobrium upon those who honestly disbelieve the religious truths which Jefferson and Adams and Franklin and their associates termed "self-evident."

The outworking of this great primal issue is witnessed in almost every important question that comes before Congress. One portion of its members adhere to the central proposition, that man holds natural and inalienable rights from the Creator, which are not to be invaded by human enactments; that they cannot be violated except by incurring the penalties of that law which was ordained by Him who bestowed them upon our race; that every individual who invades these rights of his fellow-man is guilty of crime, and should be punished accordingly; that all human enactments professing to authorize the invasion of these rights are outside the just power of human governments, are impious invasions of God's prerogatives, are despotic in their character, impose no moral obligation upon any individual, but involve those who enact and those who support them in the same degree of guilt with those who perpetrate the crimes; that such statutes can in no degree modify the moral guilt of those who trample upon the rights which God has bestowed upon their fellow-men. The other portion of the American people, maintaining a corresponding infidelity, deny the existence of these rights, deny that God has bestowed them upon mankind; they claim unlimited sovereignty for human governments over human rights.

But I desire to call attention to some of those specific rights which are included in the general proposition regarded as inalienable and common to all men. Christians and patriots hold life to be the *gift of God.* They regard it sacred; they look upon its invasion as a crime; that, as the Creator bestows existence upon those who bear His image, it becomes the duty of individuals, of associations, and of governments, to protect each and every human being in the enjoyment of life; that at this point human legislation commences, limited in its appropriate powers to the protection of life, and not to its destruction; that human governments hold no other rightful powers in regard to life than to protect its enjoyment; that the execution of pirates and murderers, and those who invade our country, is allowed only for the purpose of protecting society; that these powers are ordained of God, sanctioned by religion, by philosophy, by the common sense of mankind. They believe that that command which was proclaimed from Sinai, in tones of thunder, saying to every human being, "Thou shalt not kill," was truly the voice of God; that it is repeated in all His works, and in every revelation of Himself, and is binding on all our race. This commandment of God, this entire doctrine, is denied by the President and by all American infidels; and this constitutes the first collateral issue.

In our slaveholding communities, enactments have been passed, and are now supported, professing to authorize masters to murder their slaves. For instance, in those States the slave is denied the right of self-defence—the right to protect his life or his person. If he attempt to defend himself against the master, the master is authorized to slay him in any manner he may be able; if he run from the master, after being ordered to stop, the master is authorized to shoot him; if he die under the scourge, the master is not held responsible. American infidels believe that no moral turpitude attaches to these statutory murders; while Christians hold that God's moral law remains unchanged by such enactments; that the guilt of the murderer is in no degree modified by such statutes; that the perpetrator stands unveiled before God and all good men, guilty as he would be if no such laws existed; that all who enact and all who support such enactments make themselves accessory to the crimes committed under them, are guilty as such, and ought to be subjected to the same punishment with those who murder their slaves.

But this power of the master over the life of the slave constitutes the vital element of the institution, without which slavery could not exist. It is exercised wherever slavery is maintained. Every master exercises the privilege of driving his slave, in sickness or in health, just so severely as will best subserve his own interests. It is on this principle that slaveholders openly declare it to be profitable to work their slaves so hard as to produce the death of the whole gang on an average of five years upon sugar plantations, and of seven upon cotton plantations; and to supply their places by other victims imported from the slave-breeding States. From official documents, it is estimated that thirty thousand human victims are thus sacrificed annually within the United States and Territories.

In the slave States, it is not uncommon to see advertisements in the public papers offering a bounty for the head of a particular slave, who has absconded from his master. Even in Ohio, during the past year, a Government official deliberately murdered an absconding slave, and is yet protected from the gallows by those who administer the State laws in the county where the murder was perpetrated. Our Federal troops are often employed in the work of murdering those who are supposed to be fugitive slaves. A signal instance of this character occurred many years since. In a time of profound peace, General Jackson directed our army to invade Florida, at that time a province of Spain, for the purpose of murdering a people who were born free, but whose ancestors had been slaves; and in one day nearly three hundred men, women, and children, were barbarously and wantonly murdered by American troops.

This system of murder is encouraged and maintained by the present Executive, and by all who support his Administration. They insist that the people of a State or Territory may rightfully enact laws giving to one man power over the life of his fellow-men who have committed no offence; that popular sovereignty is not limited by God's higher law; that it extends with propriety over the life, the liberty, and the happiness, of a portion of the human family; that the whites may, with moral impunity, subject the coloured people of a State or Territory to degrading servitude, close up the windows of their souls, shut out knowledge from their understandings, hold them in ignorance, and murder them if they assert the rights which God has given them.

This infidelity, within the last half century, has consigned more than a million of innocent and unoffending victims to untimely graves. The number is far greater than has perished under the infidelity of France in all past time. But this comparison of American with French infidelity does great injustice to the latter. In France, the victims were sent to the guillotine under pretence that it was necessary for the *public safety.* They suffered but little; there was no flogging, no torture. But American infidelity consigns its victims to years of torture and suffering, and finally to death, for no higher purpose than to gratify the sordid passions of their individual oppressors.

These wholesale murders are but the out-workings of that infidelity which denies that God has endowed all men with the unalienable right to live. The enactments referred to, and their results, clearly demonstrate the views of those who sustain them, and are labouring, in this Hall and elsewhere, to extend them over our Territories, and wherever Congress holds exclusive jurisdiction. It is most obvious, that while the present Administration openly lends its influence to such crimes, every intelligent man who sustains and upholds its policy, or fails to oppose it so far as able, becomes involved in the guilt of the murders which it sanctions.

But I shall be told that these enactments are confined to the slave States, and that Congress holds no power to repeal or modify them. I reply, that the people and statesmen of our Southern States insist that slaveholders may carry their slaves, and all privileges which they hold of flogging and murdering them under State laws, into our territories; and the President, and those who sustain him, declare that the Constitution extends and protects these crimes wherever Federal authority exists. They declare that this system of murder is established by the Federal Constitution; that neither Congress nor the people of the Territories have the right to punish those who perpetrate such crimes. Not content with this avowal of doctrine, however, we are at this time sustaining a code of laws for the government of this District, which holds to the blasphemy that men may become the property of their fellow-men—may be bought and sold like swine. In these and in other modes is the transcendent question of Christianity, or slaveholding heathenism, made the absorbing political issue in the nation.

But I shall be told that the Supreme Court of the United States have decided that our fathers did not intend to avow those self-evident truths which they solemnly proclaimed; that they really held to the doctrines of slavery which they did not avow. Our fathers could no more change the law of eternal right and wrong than we can. The ordained will of Heaven has existed through the eternity of the past, and will continue through all the future. Men may conform to this law, but they can never modify it, or make it conform to the human will. Our fathers sought to make no such modification of the Creator's law.

Had such infidelity characterized their action, it would have imposed no obligation upon the present generation to sustain this system of murder. They have passed to that tribunal which will do them justice. They must answer for their conduct; we must account to God and posterity for our own stewardship, and not for theirs.

God, through all his works, in all his laws, by every revelation to man, has prohibited us from murdering our fellow-beings; and woe to the nation, to the statesman, the legislator, the despot, the oligarch, the murderer, who disregards this law of the Most High! I feel humbled and mortified when I see statesmen, ministers, teachers of religion in this land of Bibles, and Sabbaths, and churches, maintain the doctrine that human authority can repeal this law of Heaven. To me, it is downright blasphemy; derogatory to the character of the Creator, and offensive to the religious sense of mankind. Yet this absurdity is the legitimate outworking of that infidelity which denies "that God has endowed all men with inalienable rights." If He has endowed our race with any right whatever, it surely is the right to live. If this right be denied, no other can be acknowledged. If there be exceptions to this central, this universal proposition, that *all* men, without respect to complexion or condition, hold from the Creator the right to live, who shall determine what portion of the community shall be slain? And who may perpetrate the murders? The Executive and his supporters say that white men may murder black men. The blacks deny this; God and Christianity, and nature, and all religious, all just, all moral men, deny it.

Yet this denial of the right of men to live constitutes the mildest and least offensive phase of American infidelity. No intelligent person would desire to have the life of his body prolonged for the purpose of being subjected to physical torture, while his intellect shall be paralyzed, his soul enshrouded in ignorance, and his moral nature brutalized. Therefore, the right to enjoy liberty—physical, moral, civil and religious—is regarded as more important than life. Indeed, it is obvious to every mind, that life itself cannot be protected unless the individual be permitted to support and defend the physical existence with which God has endowed him.

Religious and patriotic men regard the body as merely the temporary habitation of the spirit, the soul which constitutes the *man;* to be occupied during its infant state of existence, and used for the purpose of developing the mental faculties, extending the sphere of thought and elevating his moral nature, thereby preparing him for a higher and holier state of existence. And when the body shall have performed this service, it is laid aside, to moulder and return to its mother earth, while the spirit shall live on and on while God exists. No injury to the body can, therefore, bear any comparison to the enslavement of the intellect, the degradation of the moral nature of man.

By the established laws of our existence, the body requires food, raiment, and habitation. To each individual are given limbs to bear him forth from place to place; hands to cultivate and gather the fruits of the earth, to feed the body, provide raiment and habitation for its protection; eyes to guide him, and ears to detect danger. These are all held in subjection to the mind, and are put in operation by the will of the individual. The mind itself is constrained to action by an inflexible law which God had ordained for its early unfoldment. Its first care is to nourish, and feed, and clothe the body, to render it a comfortable and pleasant habitation during occupancy. The spirit is constrained, in seeking food, to put the limbs and hands and all the physical faculties into operation, to satisfy the hunger and thirst of the body, to provide raiment and habitation for its protection. That God has endowed each member of the human family with the inherent and inalienable right to use his own limbs and hands and bodily faculties for these purposes is, literally, a "*self-evident truth.*" It is a truth that cannot be rendered more clear by argument; it cannot be enforced by logic, or made more beautiful by eloquence. But this care of the body constitutes the first lesson, the lowest exercise of the intellect, and is introductory to that eternal unfoldment which was designed by the Creator as the means of elevating man to higher and still higher happiness; for I lay it down as a religious axiom, that in degree as man becomes wise, just, pure, and truthful, he approximates that happiness which constitutes the final design of his existence.

That God has endowed every human being with the right thus to enlarge this sphere of thought, and elevate his moral nature, is so obviously, self-evidently true that he must indeed be a most arrant infidel who denies it. It constitutes a part of the fundamental proposition, that "all men are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights." Its existence is, however, denied by "American infidels"; and this constitutes the second collateral issue between the religious and irreligious portions of our people. This enslavement of the soul presents infidelity in its most revolting features. It paralyzes the moral nature of man; renders the soul sterile and unprepared for heaven. We must wait the day of final retribution to disclose the extent of its enormities.

Yet the body can only be held in bondage by enslaving the spirit, by surrounding it with mental darkness. Permit a man to understand the duties which he owes to himself, to mankind and to God, and he cannot be a slave. Hence, the policy of slaveholding governments is arranged and adapted to the purpose of first enslaving the minds of their bondmen. In most slaveholding communities, it is a statutory offence, punishable by fine and imprisonment, to teach slaves to read the gospel. They are not permitted to read the words of "Him who spake as never man spake"; who declared His mission on earth "*to proclaim liberty to the captive*"; to raise up the bowed down; enlighten the ignorant; who taught his disciples and followers "to do unto others as they would have others to do unto them." A distinguished jurist of North Carolina, while discharging official duties, declared, "a slave is one doomed in his own person and posterity *to live without knowledge.*" He is not permitted to understand the object of human existence. He can have no conception of *justice,* or *wisdom,* or *purity,* or *truth.* Slaves can have no correct idea of the duties which children owe to their parents, nor of those which are due from parents to children. The parent is not permitted to teach or govern his child, nor is the child permitted to honour or obey his parent.

The right of legal marriage is unknown among the slaves. They are not permitted to understand the relation nor the duties of husband and wife. The master sells him who is called *husband,* or her who calls herself wife, while he retains the other. He sells the parent, and retains the child; or he sells the child, and retains the parent. These separations are but the practical workings of that infidelity which denies to parents and children those inalienable rights which God and nature have bestowed upon them.

The legitimate heir of a plantation, on coming into possession of his estate, often sells the children of his father—his brothers and sisters of the half blood—denying that they "have any rights which white men are bound to respect." This infidelity denies the right of six hundred thousand females of our land to protect their own virtue, and consigns them to practical prostitution. This state of society is but the outworking of that infidelity which denies the existence of man's inalienable right to liberty and to moral elevation.

It would be in vain for us to say to the Christians of Europe, or even the Mohammedans of Turkey, that *religious* men of our country support such a system of pollution. Yet thousands of church-members, in the slave States, impiously charge Deity with authorizing these crimes, and sacrilegiously endeavour to pervert the Holy Scriptures to the support of this infidelity. Newspapers, professedly religious, lend a silent, and some an active, support to these crimes; while others, even in our free States, openly oppose and denounce all who resist the extension or expose the enormities of slavery.

The number of heart-broken mothers, and the torture which they suffer on being separated from their children, the physical suffering from floggings, thumbscrews and all the various means of torture practised in slaveholding communities, are matters of which we can speak, but of which we can form no estimate. This degradation and suffering constitute the legitimate sequence of American infidelity. If these God-given prerogatives of our race be abandoned, the mother can have no right to the child of her body; no right to the food which she gathers by her toil; no right to the intellect which God has given her; no right to be virtuous, pure, wise and good; no right to live. I repeat that the religious men of our nation insist that these rights of human nature shall be held sacred, and their enjoyment secured to every individual; while the supporters of American infidelity deny their existence, and proclaim the duty of human governments to disregard them; and each party will, of course, carry their views into their moral, social and political conduct. Mr. Jefferson well exclaimed: "*Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have destroyed their only firm basis, a conviction* in the minds of the people that they *are the gifts of God?*—THAT THEY ARE NOT TO BE VIOLATED BUT WITH HIS WRATH?"

I now pass to the third *collateral* issue—*the right of all men to enjoy happiness.* I need not repeat that the ultimate beatitude of the race constituted the evident design of Deity in creating mankind. Such I understand to be the instinctive conviction of all men. This purpose, this hope, this intuition is founded in every human heart. Men in all ages, in all countries, of all languages, have regarded this as the ultimate object of their toils and labours, the great design of their existence. This beatitude can only be attained by moral culture; by extending the sphere of thought; by understanding the laws of nature and of nature's God; by attaining a knowledge of His attributes, and conforming to them. To be wise, truthful, pure and just, is to insure happiness in this life, and in the life to come; and it is a most beautiful feature in the law of our being that to attain this happiness ourselves, we must respect the right of others to enjoy it; that, as we elevate our own moral natures, we necessarily influence others; and as we labour for the welfare and the happiness of others, we most rapidly promote our own. The religious man delights in doing good; he seeks to instruct the ignorant, to elevate the degraded, to relieve the oppressed, to enlighten those who sit in moral darkness, to give to all that elevation of soul which alone can qualify them for happiness. For this purpose, schools and academies are established, colleges are founded, tract, and Bible, and missionary societies are organized, teachers and ministers are employed. Indeed, this work of elevating our race constitutes the highest and holiest employment of mankind. For success in this work, prayer is daily made at every family altar; and on the Sabbath, our pulpits resound with the solemn, fervent supplication, that God will aid this work; that He will, by the irresistible power of His grace, convert the irreligious, enlighten those whose minds are enshrouded in the darkness of infidelity; that he will *relieve* the oppressed, comfort the afflicted and hasten the day when all shall know His will, obey His law and enjoy His favour.

The infidelity which denies the right of men to attain happiness, that dooms a portion of our race to degradation and torture, to vice, and crime, and misery, which shuts out hope from the human soul, shocks the conscience and awakens the sensibilities of all religious men.

While Government legislates for the protection of these natural, these God-given rights, they will receive the approval, the support, of the good men, and their laws will be respected and obeyed; but when they legislate for the invasion of these rights, they call up the hostility, the resistance, of those whom they seek to oppress. The just, and wise, and pure, of all parties, sects and denominations, feel the outrage, and sympathize with the down-trodden. The great heart of Christendom now beats in sympathy with the enslaved of our land. We feel that sympathy in this Hall; and when we speak for justice and for freedom, we utter the voice of nature. We proclaim the law of Heaven, written in letters of living light upon the tablet of the moral universe.

The difficulties respecting Kansas, which now shake our Union to its very centre, constitute the legitimate outworkings of this infidelity. The right of all men in Kansas to live, to nourish and protect life, attain moral elevation and happiness, had been asserted by Congressional law; and, under this enactment, peace blessed our nation. Infidels, however, said this was wrong; that such rights did not pertain to man; that one portion of the people there hold the power, and may, if they choose, rightfully enslave another, rob them of their toil, their intelligence, their hopes, their manhood, and murder them if they refuse to obey their masters. And this law of liberty was repealed, and men were enslaved, brutalized, sold like swine. The public conscience was outraged, and all good men sympathized with the oppressed. Usurpation and brute force were resorted to for the purpose of extending and supporting slavery; civil war, devastation and bloodshed followed, and will continue until justice be done, and the rights of human nature enjoyed, in that unfortunate Territory.

This line of demarkation, which separates the natural rights of all men from human legislation, was clearly drawn by the founders of our Republic. They established the point at which the appropriate, the just powers of all human governments commence, whatever may be their form. They defined the boundaries of human authority; they acknowledged God as the author of life, the donor of liberty, the fountain from which human happiness is derived. On the denial of these religious, these self-evident truths, American slavery is founded. The slaveholder denies the right of his slave to cherish and protect his own life, to gain intelligence, to unfold his moral nature, to understand God's attributes, and enjoy that happiness for which he was created. To those primal truths he is infidel. To the rights of his fellow-mortal he is infidel. To God's higher law he is infidel. Against these he wages unceasing war. He seeks to rob Deity of His attributes, and man of his God-given prerogatives. He claims for human legislation that supreme sovereignty over the life, the liberty and the happiness of mankind, which belongs only to the Creator. He thus places himself in hostility to Christianity, to civilization.

This contest is not confined to the United States. These truths are opening upon the hearts of the Russian people. Their Government is in advance of ours. Measures have already been taken for the emancipation of the serfs of that vast empire, although their condition is far better than that of American slaves. Holland is also moved by these doctrines, and is giving freedom to her oppressed people in her West India islands. England and France have abolished slavery, regarding it as an institution unsuited to the age in which we live. We assert the rights of man wherever he exists. Ours is the cause of Christian civilization throughout the world. Our doctrines apply with equal force to other governments, to other nations and people. The most illustrious monarch who sways the sceptre of human power is really as much bound to respect the inalienable rights of every individual as is the President of the United States. Kings, potentates and emperors become despots whenever they invade the rights of the most humble to life, liberty, property or happiness.

The mere name of "republicanism" gives us no claim to respect, so long as one-sixth part of our population is held in degrading bondage. I assert, without fear of contradiction, that if the liberty enjoyed by one portion of our people, and the slavery suffered by the other, could be brought into common stock, and each individual constrained to take his aliquot proportion of each, ours would be regarded as the most perfect despotism among civilized nations. The only advantage which we possess over other nations consists in that feature of our Government which vests all political power in the people. They may, by use of the ballot-box, so modify and shape the administration of government as best to secure the inalienable rights of each and of every individual.

It is with emotions of gratitude to God, and profound respect for the memory of those who established our Republic, that we refer to the period when, at the very font of our national baptism, our fathers vindicated their claims to national independence, solely upon the truths which constitute the central proposition referred to at the commencement of my remarks. They claimed for themselves no special privileges. They spoke, they fought, they bled, to establish this universal, this eternal principle of man's right to live, to nourish his body, protect his life, to elevate his moral nature, and attain happiness. This they proclaimed the basis, the corner stone, not merely of our Republic, but of human governments generally. The Constitution was framed and adopted upon this then universally-admitted principle; but such was the anxious solicitude of our early patriots that, in two years after its adoption, it was amended, by declaring, in explicit language, "*That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, except by due process of law*"; that is, except on trial and conviction before some judicial tribunal. In accordance with these truths, one-half of the States of our Union proceeded to give liberty to all their people, to protect the inalienable rights of all; but the other States embraced and cherished this infidelity, which has at length infused itself into our Federal Government. Our teachers, our politicians, our statesmen, became unwilling to offend those who had embraced this infidelity. They were received into churches, elected to civil office, and finally obtained control of the Government. All classes of men became affected by this disbelief in God's law and in human rights. It was regarded as disreputable to examine the crimes which this system of oppression upheld; social and political ostracism awaited the man who dared speak disrespectfully of its iniquities.

Eventually, individuals appeared who were willing to encounter odium, in order to arouse the religious and moral sensibilities of the nation; and in 1856, a National Convention met at Philadelphia to devise means for overcoming this moral and political scourge. The members pledged themselves to each other and to the world to maintain the truths to which I have alluded, and they now constitute the platform of a large and increasing political party.

That day witnessed the dawning of a reformation more deep, more radical, more important in its religious, its moral, its social and political effects upon mankind, than has occurred since the sixteenth century. It is more deep and radical than that commenced by Calvin and his colabourers. It asserts the right of man to religious and moral elevation, as superior to the power of kings or of human governments. The great reformers of that age dared put forth no such doctrine. Their lives would have constituted the price of such an avowal. They were constrained to admit the divine right of kings over the liberties of their people, and many of the usurped powers of the Church.

The Philadelphia Convention will be remembered in coming time as first in the history of the political parties of our nation to make religious truths the basis of its political action, and first to proclaim these rights of mankind as universal, to be enjoyed equally, by princes and people, by rulers and the most humble. It was the first to proclaim the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The result of the Presidential election of 1856 showed the advocates of oppression that there was but one alternative for them to pursue. They were constrained to take distinct issue with the advocates of Liberty, by denying these religious truths, or disband their party in every free State.

The Supreme Court was selected as the instrument for officially avowing this undisguised infidelity. That tribunal was favourably constituted for such a purpose; a majority of its members were slaveholders. Other members had been appointed to office apparently on account of their uniform servility to the Slave Power; and every circumstance combined to render it the appropriate instrument for performing this work. The time, too, was a matter of importance. No sooner had the Thirty-fourth Congress adjourned, than a majority of that tribunal, in violation of its own declared rules, digressed from the question before them, to utter its denial of those doctrines of the republican fathers.

But this decision, opposed as it is to the self-evident truths of our Declaration of Independence, to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, to the intelligence and conscience of the American people, is emphatically repudiated by them. The vanity and arrogance exhibited by a majority of the Court, in charging Hancock and Adams and Jefferson and Franklin, and their illustrious compeers, with proclaiming doctrines which they did *not intend* to express, and of failing to utter principles which they *intended* to avow, has called forth from the popular mind indignant pity for the Court, rather than doubts as to the intelligence and Christianity of those savans who founded our institutions.

I shall not argue the absurdity of this decision. Its falsehood is as self-evident as the truths which it denies. Arriving at the conclusion that the sages who signed our Declaration of Independence meant precisely the opposite of that which they solemnly proclaimed, the Court proceeded to declare—in contradiction to its letter and spirit, to the history of the age, to the conscience and judgment of all Christian people—that black men were regarded as having no rights which white men were bound to respect; and on this basis founded their conclusion that Congress has no constitutional authority to protect the lives, liberties and property of the people in our territories where it holds exclusive jurisdiction. This atrocious decision attempts to outlaw one-eighth part of the human race—to place them without the pale of legal protection. It affects to authorize any and every crime to be perpetrated against them. Under this decision, they may be robbed and murdered. In short, this decision would extend American infidelity, with all its attendant crimes, wherever Federal jurisdiction exists. Thus has the issue been made between the *religious* portion of this community and those who maintain this heathenism.

I greatly rejoice that Christians in Europe are sensible of the existence of this war upon human nature. American Christians, patriots, and philanthropists, feel the warmest gratitude towards the religious men of Scotland, of England, of France, and Germany, for the kind sympathy which they express in this cause, for the very catholic remonstrances which they have addressed to our American Christians against this infidelity. Every lover of truth, every religious heart in our land, must have glowed with gratitude to God and love to man, as he read the eloquent and truthful address of the Christians of Geneva, once the home of Europe's great reformer, to the Christians of the United States, on this subject. And whose heart was not moved when noticing the action of the Protestants of France in relation to it? Nor is this Christian feeling confined to Protestants. The African Institute of Paris, formed for the purpose of maintaining the rights of the African race, embraces among its members distinguished laymen, ministers, bishops, and archbishops, belonging to the Papal Church. My own humble efforts in behalf of our common brotherhood caused my name to become known to its directors, who placed it on the roll of its honorary members. I take this occasion to thank them for this honour. A Protestant by education, by feeling, I greet those Catholic Christians most cordially, as good and worthy labourers in this holy work. Heartily do I thank them for all that they have done, and are doing, for the down-trodden of our race.

Could I hope that my remarks would meet the eye of British ministers, I would in an especial manner invoke their official influence against this infidelity. I would beseech them no more to sanction, by their action, that blasphemy which seeks to transform the image of God into *property.*

I acknowledge that our Government was dishonoured in the eyes of all Christians when its Executive became the agent and solicitor of those pirates who claimed to own the fathers, the mothers, and children, on board certain slave ships wrecked on British islands, where, thanks to Christian civilization, no slavery exists. The President, espousing the cause of men who deserved the halter and the gallows, demanded compensation from the British Government for their loss of human flesh. Our representative at the Court of St. James appears to have misled and deceived the British Ministry. In one of his official communications, he declared that "our Government had determined more than once, in the most solemn manner, that slaves killed in the public service of the United States, even in a state of war, were to be regarded as *property,* and not as persons, and the Government held responsible for their value."

When referring to this assertion of our Minister, fifteen years since, I pronounced it unfounded and *untrue.* I said this in the presence of the delegation from Virginia, the State of which our Minister, Mr. Stevenson, was a citizen, and I called on them, as his friends, to sustain his assertion by showing some one instance in which this Government had paid for slaves killed in the public service. I declared the whole history of Congress showed that we had in every instance refused such payment, and I defied them to show an exception to such practice. No man met the challenge. I now repeat the assertion. I pronounce the statement of Mr. Stevenson untrue, a libel upon our Government, and a slander upon the American people. I not only declare his assertion untrue, but I declare the opposite to be true. The British Ministry, by complying with this demand, tacitly admitted that phase of American infidelity which seeks to degrade the human soul to the level of the swine. More recently they paid the slave-dealers the estimated value of the fathers, mothers, and children, on board the Creole, who obtained their own liberty by gallantly taking possession of the vessel, and landing on British soil.

The money—the dollars and cents—are of no importance; but concessions to this infidelity, at the present time, are important. It was an object with the Slave Power to obtain from the British Ministry the admission that *men are property.* I would entreat the British Government, and all other governments, to maintain the dignity of our common nature. In the language of one of the most eloquent of England's orators, I would say, "He who gave us the *forms,* commands us to maintain the *rights* of men." The Christians of the United States and of other nations would rejoice to learn that the British ministry now, as in 1820, refuse even to correspond with our Executive on the subject of property in human flesh.

I would also warn the Spanish Crown, and other continental Powers, that our present Executive is seeking, by all the various means and arts of diplomacy, to detach Cuba from its allegiance, to annex it to the United States in order to increase the influence of the Slave Power, and add strength to this American infidelity.

I hope and trust that this conspiracy may be defeated; that all Christian governments may exert their power against the further extension of this scourge of our race. I would most earnestly invoke the Christians, philanthropists, and patriots, of this and of every nation and kindred and language, to exert their moral influence, their legitimate powers, for the overthrow, the final eradication of this infidelity from the earth, for upholding the natural, Heaven-endowed rights of man, for the progress, the moral elevation of our race, until all shall understand the will and obey the laws of our common Father, and attain that happiness which constitutes the ultimate object of human existence.

MRS. STOWE ON REVIVALS.

REVIVALS which make men better, and bless society, have been and may be realities. But the rule is without exception, that every truly valuable thing has its counterfeit. When we read of great revivals, where the Christian converts claim as a sacred right the privilege of selling the members of Christ for money; where they defend the breaking of the marriage covenant at the will of the master, and take away from the coloured member the right of testimony, and are so lost to all moral sense as to see no harm in any of these things, we hold that that revival has been spurious and counterfeit. So also as to Northern Churches, which, for reasons of expediency, and to carry ends of ecclesiastical politics, have refused to testify against these sins, we hold that a revival of religion that brings no repentance and reformation is false and spurious.

We believe in no raptures, in no ecstacies, in no experiences that do not bring the soul into communion with Him who declared He came to set at liberty them that are bound and bruised. Revivals of religion have not been confined to Christian countries. Old heathenism had them. Popish Rome has them. Modern heathenism has them. One and all of these have had turns of unusual fervour in their way. One and all have had their trances, illuminations, and mysterious ecstacies. But those only are Christian revivals which make men like Christ; or, if they do not make them like Him, at least set them on the road of trying to be like Him. We say, therefore, to our friends that the period of a great religious impulse has come; that there will be revivals all over the land, either false or true—either of a Christian or a heathen type; and by their fruits shall ye know them. We are glad to hear that some of the most effective revival preachers confine their attention very much to preaching to the Church. We are glad to hear that. It is quite necessary that those who profess to be the exponents of religion before the community should have some deeper and higher ideas of what religion is.

So that when they go forth with the Apostolic message, "Repent and be converted every one of you," they need not be met with the scornful reply, "Converted, sir, converted to what? Converted into a man who defends slavery—converted into one who dares not testify against a profitable wickedness—converted into a man whose religion never goes into his counting-house—converted into a man who has no conscience in his politics, and who scoffs at the higher law of God? No, sir; I desire no such conversion. Whatever your raptures may be, I desire no part with them."—*Harriet Beecher Stowe, in The Independent.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 27, 1858.

Correspondents will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "*Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard*, 138 *Nassau street, New York.*"

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "*Publisher of the Anti Slavery Standard*, 138 *Nassau street, New York.*"

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in MOZART HALL, No. 663 Broadway (above Bleecker street), on TUESDAY and WEDNESDAY, May 11th and 12th; commencing, as usual, at 10 o'clock A. M. on the first day, and closing in the afternoon of the last. Arrangements will be made to secure addresses from eloquent champions of the cause, not only at the first, but at each subsequent session.

At no time within the quarter of a century in which this Society, as the representative of the American slave, has pressed upon the consciences of the people the duty of Immediate Emancipation, have the obligations resting upon its friends been more imperative, or the incitements to fidelity on their part greater than at the present hour; and never was it more important that they should come together, in large numbers, from every part of the land, to confer with one another upon the state of the cause, and, by an interchange of thought and sympathy, prepare for new labours and conflicts in its behalf.

The object of the Society is not *merely* to make "Liberty national and Slavery sectional"—nor to prevent the acquisition of Cuba—nor to restore the Missouri Compromise—nor to repeal the Fugitive Slave bill—nor to make Kansas a free State—nor to resist the admission of any new slave State into the Union—nor to terminate slavery in the District of Columbia and in the National Territories—but it is, primarily, comprehensively, and uncompromisingly, to effect the immediate, total and eternal overthrow of Slavery, wherever it exists on American soil, and to expose and confront whatever party or sect seeks to purchase peace or success at the expense of human liberty. Living or dying, our motto is "No Union with Slaveholders, religiously or politically!"

In behalf of the Executive Committee,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President.

S. H. Gay,
Wendell Phillips, } Secretaries.

"THE DEED DONE."

Whoever had been travelling in the United States in December, January and February last, would have had his curiosity continually awakened by such dialogues as these: "Why, what is the meaning of all this excitement in Massachusetts? What has that man in Boston done that the people are so incensed at?" And again: "What is at the bottom of all these petitions—every day half a thousand men demanding one man's removal from office? One would think a thief or a murderer had taken shelter among the Judges there, in Yankee land."

And so the story had to be told a million of times in reply—not in the measured tone of legislative speech or leading articles (measured that they may not be self-defeating)—but in the one brief, indignant, blighting breath that can make the voice *felt* through the noise of railroads and the hissing of enginery—the story of the Massachusetts Judge, selected at Washington as the tool of slavery extension, because Mr. Hammond, Mr. Aiken and the rest of the great slaveholders, need a legally trained man, in honourable office, to lessen, by sharing, the disgrace of their social *status*, and to defeat the stratagems which common humanity finds itself *obliged* (*O shame!*) to use in Massachusetts when it would exercise the right of asylum in behalf of a hunted fellow-creature! when it would shelter the innocent fugitive from the bloodhound law of the United States and its kennel-fed Commissioners; the story of the Boston Judge of Probate for widows and orphans, who was obliged to leave his widows and his orphans uncared for, because it was a great primary duty, in his eyes, to seize and send back in chains to bondage the helpless ones of the South; the story of the Boston gentleman, who made himself a slave-catcher for the good of trade, under the dictation of a servile set of manufacturers, grown gray in cotton-dust and sin; the story of the Northern professing Christian, who set slave law above the law of Christ and the law of Massachusetts, and broke every law of decency and humanity to make himself the whipper-in of the plantations.

"And this," men said in reply, "is why the name of Edward Greeley Loring is a common form of cursing in Massachusetts. This is why, for three years, they have followed him with unslaked indignation that saw Massachusetts put under martial law of the United States in 1855, for the enforcement of his cowardly and cruel decision, which sent from free soil to bondage a man free before the law; and *this* is why, for his sake, the office of United States Commissioner will henceforth mark the man that holds it as below the moral level of his fellow-citizens; and *this* is why that office disqualifies for every other; and *this* is why the Union has become dishonoured and hateful in the sight of good men, for all its offices have been, like this, disgraced, till they are only so many shameful slave-commissionerships."

But "the deed is done" that fixes the public eye on them all, and strengthens the public opinion to change their character by trampling down the scandal and casting out the men that disgrace them. Massachusetts, on the 19th inst., in General Court assembled, taught the United States a great and multiform lesson—the lesson that slavery and freedom are incompatible. It is not the first she has imparted on that theme, nor will it be the last. It is the line laid down as her part in her Bill of Rights and in her Constitution—in her politics and her religion. No matter where such lines *produce*, since they are sure to lead through Time's high places—through pleasant centuries to come, away from the slime and corruption of slavery.

A second lesson just taught by Massachusetts is the important one that it is the great legitimate function of a State to judge its Judges. They are not a State's masters, but its servants. They are neither independent of its power nor above its chastisement. They are but like other servants, to be honoured for their seat's sake while they merit honour, and to be shaken out of it in disgrace whenever their course makes ejection a duty to the bench.

The third great lesson that the United States have just received of Massachusetts is one in that noblest science of moral self-defence. She has doubly vindicated her State sovereignty—against encroachment from without and disobedience within—by ejecting from office the creature of the planters and their allies, the Boston traders and manufacturers, who has been sustained by them for years to defy her paramount jurisdiction. And this, too, is the lesson to the City of Boston, that the State of Massachusetts has been trying, since 1835, to teach, when three hundred chosen delegates from the anti-slavery towns sought in vain through all the city halls and churches for a suitable place of meeting.

And again, Massachusetts has taught how to secure the honour of the Bench and an independent Judiciary.

We are not a people whose genius lies in Caricature There is not, in general, interest enough in the political concerns of a happy business people to pay for pictorial representations of any description. The gravelly shores must be protected from pillage, the river-fisheries must be regulated, the lamps on the headlands and in the cities must be duly supplied, the travel-track from the Atlantic to the Pacific must be marked out. It is all necessary and important, but affords small foothold for humour, wit or ridicule. But when a business people, in the prosecution of its aims, become mean, base, slavish, bloody, the better to prevail, the thing is too serious for humour, ridicule or wit. It has passed out of the laughing region of pictorial incongruities. Sin is no fit subject for caricature; least of all the deadly American sin, whose features it is beyond the reach of art to exaggerate. Hence we have no American *Punch*. Slavery paralyzes with horror the play of artistic faculties that must combine to create such a functionary.

But if shame and indignation would permit a true American to smile at anything in the dominions of the slaveholders, it would be at the babble and the posture-making they teach their tools. See, for example, a set of Boston gentlemen surrounding their bought up Judge—some in black, as "the cloth"—in uniform, as "the service"—or, *in chains*, as "the faculty"—some marked for "merchant princes" by little banker's bags, and some by little cotton-bags—and other some zealously manufacturing the newspapers and preparing the literature to suit this circle of peculiar provincials (whose real capital is somewhere in the Carolinas, Georgia or Louisiana). See these so-called Boston gentlemen looking on approvingly while the planter has their amiable friend by the hair, buckling the bloodhound's collar round his neck, and dragging him along, with the judicial bench to which he clings, to the seizure of a fellow-creature—gravely pleading, meanwhile, with Massachusetts, sitting queenly to condemn the deed in the chair of her legislative State, for the independence of the judiciary! How conscientious and how tender hearted! How amiable and how kind is their servant! Is not their servant a dog since he did that thing? And what, then, are they who urged him on to do it? who stood by him in setting his own judgment above all that is called the judiciary in any civilized polity; thus insulting human nature in its most refined, most exalted, most Christian and gentlemanly estate, as the defender of the oppressed?

One glance shows that American politics are too sorry for jesting.

One may figure to oneself England, as a stout housekeeper, examining the new footman-premier with, "I fear, John, you may n't be strong enough for the place." One may even picture Louis Napoleon in a fright lest the crowing of the Gallic cock should awaken the British lion. But Caleb Cushing, feeding the American eagle with flesh of the flesh of Massachusetts, is a thing not to be painted for public amusement. It is written with loathing, and contempt, and shuddering indignation, in the heart and brain of every good man who has watched his ever blackening career from the fair promise of his youth to the threshold of his despised age.

The Legislature of Massachusetts has also, by its recent action, taught the States that public opinion is neither a sex, nor a colour, nor a legal vote. It is a power; with which the legislator has nothing to do but to resist or obey, according to its wisdom and moral quality.

But once more: by the ejection of Loring, Massachusetts has taught many an indirect lesson. It could not fail to be so; that thing is good for nothing that is not good for something else. Her Legislature has taught her Republicans how to prevent the extension of slavery—nor hers alone. Wherever Missouri Democrats, or Kentucky slaveholders, or Carolina non-slaveholders are awakening to the great work of the nineteenth century, they hear, beneath the voice of Massachusetts sovereignty, the whisper of Massachusetts sympathy; and over all swells the clear, *certain* sound of Massachusetts morals and religion; hearing which, every man knows how to gird himself for the anti-slavery battle. It says to the whole land, "Meet slavery in every path and in every shape, and 'remove' it." It stands a Border Ruffian in Kansas—*remove* it. It sits a Chief Magistrate at Washington—*remove* it; a prejudiced pedagogue in the schools—*remove* it; in the Church, holding up "fellowship" as a weapon to destroy brotherhood—remove it; at Washington, muffled up in ermine—REMOVE IT!

Since slaveholders and their creatures hear and thus interpret the great Massachusetts lesson of 1858, how much more shall the American Anti-Slavery Society, that has so long entertained (not unawares) that angel of Freedom,

> "whose breath hath lent
> A vigour to the instrument!"

One thing, too, the Legislature of Massachusetts has learned; all honour to its noble sense of what befits the functionary of a people so noble—whose legislators are its abolitionists, and its abolitionists its legislators! It has learned, as our American Anti-Slavery Society has done before it in these times, and as the fathers did in the past, to pay no heed to the voices of wealth, or place, or power. It has heeded, at this important crisis, only the voice of the fathers' blood, crying to it from the ground, "Stain not the glory of your worthy ancestors." It has been faithful to their adjuration, "Be wise in your deliberations and determined in your exertions for the preservation of your liberties." It has "rejected the dictates of passion and enlisted under the sacred banner of reason." It has "secured its rights and prevented the curses of posterity from being heaped upon its memory."

But more remains to be done; and the voice that, in 1772, evoked from the ground the blood of Vane and Hampden still cries to it from the near sacred sod! "If you, with united zeal and fortitude, oppose the torrent of oppression—if you feel the true fire of patriotism burning in your hearts—if you from your souls despise the most gaudy dress that slavery can wear" [*how much more the petty postmasterships, and overseerships, and tide-waiterships, and drivers'-berths!*]—"if you really prefer the lonely cottage, while blest with liberty, to gilded palaces surrounded with the ensigns of slavery, you may have the fullest assurance that slavery, with her whole accursed train, will hide her hideous head in confusion, shame and despair."

If anything could add to the satisfaction of a deed which is at once a homage to the past, a safeguard to the present and a pledge to the future, it would be the admirable grace and measure of the doing. The crowds from the city and the country round about, who, from time to time, composed the audience at those important sessions, were most deeply impressed by it. The public journals can give the words there uttered, but no report can do justice to the imposing effect. The anti-slavery feeling had previously done its appropriate work in the open field, without stint or measure. "Thus it becometh us" in our primary meetings as Abolitionists. But in the Senate Chamber and in the Representatives' Hall, the Anti-Slavery feeling clothes itself in the proprieties of place, and sits in a legislative dignity of self-government that the world cannot match. This could not fail to be observed by every one who had felt the atmosphere of sleeping murder in the Senate, or seen the exhibition of drunken riot in the Representatives' chamber at Washington; or who had saddened in the "*morne silence*" of the permitted assemblages of despotism; or rejoiced in the flattering exactitude of the French Republican Chamber of Deputies; or excruciated in the hesitating utterance of an English House of Commons, where each man is so reasonably afraid that his neighbour may know more than himself, and where, save for a few local and personal interests, all are generally so much in the hands of the smooth audacious talker with hereditary claims.

Freedom and Humanity forget none of their advocates; but some may claim an especially honourable remembrance. The heart of every listener present will have thanked Mr. Pitman, of New Bedford, and will have felt that too much can hardly be said of the legal ability, the judicial discrimination, the argumentative closeness to the subject, flowing, with uncompromising moral rectitude, in perfect temper and constant courtesy, out of the easy fulness of a trained mind and a noble heart, which were brought by John A. Andrew, of Boston, to the service of the State on this occasion.

We hail it as the first of a new series of Legislative and Judicial triumphs, the last of which shall be the abolition of slavery.

Legislative Dishwater.—The following resolutions, after a severe struggle, have been adopted in both Houses of the New York Legislature. They are, perhaps, better than nothing, but is it not a shame that the testimony of this great State against the most gigantic governmental fraud of modern times should be uttered in tones of such mouse-like feebleness?

Resolved, That the State of New York is opposed to the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State with the Constitution commonly known as "the Lecompton Constitution," or any other Constitution which shall not have been, in all its parts, fairly submitted to the legal voters of the Territory, and received their sanction and approval.

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Senators and members of the House of Representatives from this State in Congress.

The debate on these resolutions in the Senate was quite spirited. Messrs. Noxon and Diyen denounced the great iniquity in fitting terms, the former declaring that the Republican party, whatever might be its differences in other respects, was "now and forever, unanimously, decidedly, actively opposed to the admission of another State into this Union whose Constitution tolerates property or traffic in human beings." Perhaps he is right on this point, but we need better evidence of the fact than is afforded by individual declarations in the heat of debate. We wish we could be sure that the Republican party would hereafter take its stand firmly on any well-defined principle of hostility to slavery, instead of building as heretofore upon the shifting sands of expediency.

MR. GIDDINGS'S SPEECH.

We are sure we need not invite the attention of our readers to the admirable Speech of the Nestor of political Anti-Slavery, which we reprint to-day. We have done our duty very imperfectly if there be any one of our habitual public that does not honour and love this sincere and excellent public man and is not ready to sit at his feet without our special asking. There are not many men left in public life of the stamp of Mr. Giddings. It almost seems as if the mould had been broken in which such souls were shaped, and that the Age had lost her breed of noble bloods. Expediency has taken precedency of principle; and the nearer the Northern party comes to obtaining the control of the Nation, the more it yields to the temptation of lowering its standard as nearly as possible to the degradation of the old parties, in the hope of obtaining a larger support. The wrongs of the Slave have been almost lost sight of in the presence of the trivial and temporary inconveniences to which slavery has put the White Man.

Mr. Giddings goes to the root of the matter and shows that it is the crime against the Slave that has called down on Kansas and the Northern country the penalties they seek to escape. It is the awful shadows of millions of murdered men and women that brood over the land and darken its sunlight as with the gloom of destiny. He appeals to the moral sense and the religious yearnings of the people as the true way to repentance and reformation. This is true statesmanship as well as good ethics. The perception of this is what distinguishes the wise man from the sciolist—the statesman from the politician. What is needed for a change of Administration is a change of heart. The people need conviction and conversion—to be brought to a lively sense of the exceeding sinfulness of their sins, and to a firm resolution to depart from them at any hazard to interests or to institutions. The little work of party jobberies and the paring down of platforms to the smallest possible sliver of principle will be done, of course; but it may be safely left to those whose business is political chicane and trickery. It is no part of the appointed work of the real leaders of the people, among whom Mr. Giddings is conspicuous, to pick dirty dogs like Douglas out of the kennel of politics and to propose making them lead the party like a blind man in the direction of the White House. As a matter of course, this will be done, and whatever meanness of compromise a truckling expediency may suggest will be made whenever the time comes for the movement necessary to convert the *Outs* into the *Ins*. But it can be left with perfect confidence to the professional Platform-builders.

And this mode of treating the subject is the true politic expediency, after all. The North can never prevail over the South except by the masses of concientious men believing that there is a life informing the dry bones of the factitious party wired together by the political adepts and "galvanized to go" for a season every fourth year. Would the Fremont party, for instance, have come so near a victory, a year and a half ago, had the millions really believed that the only thing at issue was the right of Kansas to have slaves if she chose, but not against her will? We trow not. And so, hereafter, men must be roused and stirred by the story of the wrongs of the slave, and pricked to the heart by their own guilty participation in them, or they will not be at the pains to make an effort equal to the time. Certainly, it can hardly be worth their while to substitute Douglas for Buchanan—the Repealer of the Missouri Compromise for the logical enforcer of that Repeal and its legitimate and intended consequences. Such a speech as this of Mr. Giddings is precisely of the tone and temper to create the material out of which political success is to be made up, though no such purpose appears in it, or had any share in its inspiration. If the Republican leaders only understood their game, and would learn that it is not personal interests, but principles and passions, which compel great political changes, they have yet time to prepare the way for the victory they long for, but the vision of which may yet never greet their eyes.

The weak point of this excellent speech lies in its neglecting to show how the spread of Slavery and its predominance in the government spring from the crime of the framers of the Constitution in admitting it among their integral institutions. Mr. Giddings assumes that our government was founded in righteousness, and preceded by the acknowledgment of a Divine author, because of the recognition of the Creator and his endowment of all men with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, in the Declaration of Independence. But the Declaration forms no part of our Institutions. It was but the Avatar, the Forerunner, the Messenger before their face. When our ancestors met to arrange their Federal Government, they did it in the most matter-of-fact and business-like way possible. They met like so many shopkeepers entering into partnership, for certain worldly and selfish ends. There is no mention of God and no acknowledgement of the obligations of morality and religion from the beginning to the end of the parchment. Probably they had too much sense of the decent and becoming, if not of the ridiculous, to mix up any protestations of piety with an instrument legalizing the Slave Trade for twenty years, not forbidding it then, and making the ownership of Slaves an element of political power in their new Republic. To gain their ends of a common government and mutual protection, the Northern men consented to these immoral concessions. No doubt they thought it statesmanly and wise. But we see how short-sighted and foolish they were. They could then have crushed under their heel the young serpent, which, taken into their bosoms, has grown into a dragon, devouring their sons and laying waste their heritage. The foundations of our polity were not laid in righteousness and the fear of God, but in wickedness and the fear of man, and therefore they have not brought peace with them, but confusion and ever-varying mischiefs. Mr. Giddings, undoubtedly, thinks that he sees a way in which justice and right can be restored and maintained under the Constitution and the existing Union. We see no way of deliverance except over their ruins and by their reconstruction. But we welcome such an utterance as this because we are confident that the reception of such doctrines as these, in the sincere spirit in which they are expressed, must ultimately lead to our solution of the problem which perplexes and dismays the nation. We therefore accept this word as that of a co-worker, albeit he knows it not, and we commend it to the reading of all earnest and reflecting men.

TRUTH.

To know the fact, sift the evidence. To learn the truth of a word, consider the circumstances under which it is spoken, and the character of him that speaks. If his word be spoken of the dead, ask if the rule from which grew the proverb, "To lie like an epitaph"—the rule of saying of them nothing but good—be the one that dictates his speech. But there are the sainted dead about whom no question is ever asked, nor information needed; for their lives have made their names and goodness one, so that whoever has heard the one knows the other.

Of such is the honoured name, beloved and blest, that we place with tears to-day in the radiant roll of our departed—the name of Sarah H. Earle, of Worcester, Massachusetts. Death, so often the first to announce merit, has done nothing to increase the deep sense of *her* value in the minds of those who remain. We are favoured with the following letter, copied on request by her daughter, from the original among her papers. Written with no thought of publicity or coming bereavement, to accompany a little gift from the Twenty-fourth Anti-Slavery Festival, it marks the depth of the impression her life made on hearts worthy of her own—an impression so profound and beautiful that it placed *her*, in their estimate, beyond the application of the general warning, to "call none happy while yet they live."

Boston, Dec. 25th, 1857.

Dear Mrs. Earle: Will you allow us, your friends in various degrees of intimacy, though with but one degree of appreciation—the highest—of what is worthy of all appreciation, to entreat your acceptance of this little gift in token of what we feel of admiration and reverence, affection and gratitude, to one whose unswerving fidelity and unequalled perseverance in the cause, from the time that its standard was first uplifted, have ever been our strength and our example.

Eliza Lee Follen,	Mary May,
Wendell Phillips,	Charles F. Hovey,
Samuel May, Jr.,	Sarah Russell May,
Edmund Quincy,	C. Lenox Remond,
Charles E. Hodges,	Wm. Lloyd Garrison,
Abby K. Foster,	Francis Jackson.

THE REMOVAL OF LORING.

In the observations which we have made, in another column, upon this auspicious event, we have not marked with sufficient emphasis the fact that its achievement is primarily due to the persistency and fidelity of the Abolitionists in keeping the subject before the people and pressing it upon the attention of the Legislature. The pro-slavery men, in and out of the Legislature, who were bitterest by speech and pen against this righteous retribution, have endeavoured all along to hinder its having its due course by taunting those who were in favour of it as the tools and minions of the Abolitionists. This story was perpetually harped upon in the hope of provoking timid and time-serving souls to refuse to do a plain duty through the fear of an odious imputation. To whatever degree these efforts may have affected the minority that voted against the Address, we are glad to know that neither the fear of this reproach, nor yet the insidious appeals of sneaking Republican papers, like *The Springfield Republican* and *The Boston Journal*, to the selfish political fears of the dominant party, have availed to induce the majority to interpose between this culprit and the punishment he had invoked upon his head.

It is, indeed, true, in an important sense, that the Abolitionists of Massachusetts deserve the credit of bringing this offender to condign punishment. Had they not set on foot the movement for that end, and organized it, and carried it forward by their money and personal exertions, it is very likely that this edifying spectacle would never have been presented to the country. When Governor Gardner first refused to remove Judge Loring, in answer to the Address in 1855, Mr. Garrison promised the country that the attempt should succeed, reminded all concerned that delay was defeat, and warned them to stand out of the way or they would find the effects of their opposition redounding upon their own heads. And Mr. Phillips, no longer ago than last January, prophesied that the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society would yet write the epitaph of a Boston Judge. These prophecies have now historically come to pass. Still, the attempt to make the passage of the Address an act of submission and concession to the Abolitionists is a simple absurdity and a very palpable lie. The Abolitionists have kept the subject before the minds of the people of the State and prevented that oblivion which is too often permitted to gather over great, or mean, public crimes, and they took the necessary pains to procure a partial expression of the popular wish that this unjust Judge should have no longer the charge of the widows and orphans of the chief city of the State. Had they not done this, it is very possible that the act would have remained undone, for the lack of a proper concentration of the public sentiment. But the Removal is due, of course, to the consciousness on the part of the Legislature and the Governor that the will of the People demanded it, and that they demanded it because it was a just and right thing to do.

This portion of the history of Massachusetts is curious and instructive. The first Address was asked for and conceded on the ground of the unfitness of a man capable of consenting to be the tool of a slave-catcher to sit on the bench of a tribunal which was the refuge and defence of the most helpless class at home. Admitting that there must be a man found to act under the Constitution of the United States and send back in chains to torture and slavery men guilty only of loving liberty and risking all to obtain it, it was monstrous that he should be sought in the halls consecrated by the State to the comfort and succour of its widows and its orphans. Governor Gardner, however, refused this just and humane demand on the ground that there was no law making the two offices incompatible! As if the same highest law which would call for the removal of a drunkard or an adulterer from a post of such delicate functions did not apply with yet greater stringency to a case like this. The Legislature then passed the Personal Liberty bill, in which the two offices were declared incompatible, and passed it over the Governor's Veto. At the next election the swelling wave of Know-Nothingism that had borne Mr. Gardner on to fortune had not ebbed quite enough to leave him high and dry, and he was reëlected by a greatly reduced vote. In 1856 the Address was again petitioned for; but the Legislature took advantage of the lateness of the day of asking, to pass it over to their successors. The next year, the Fremont campaign absorbed all other interests, and Mr. Gardner, by adroit management and skilful duplicity, succeeded in obtaining Republican votes enough to elect him, when added to his own following. At the session of 1857 the petitioners presented themselves betimes, and the Address was voted by large majorities, and again rejected by Mr. Gardner. And now came the day of account. He went into the canvass last autumn almost on the single ground of this refusal, and he and all Hunkerdom at his heels demanded his reëlection as a proof of the approval of the State of his action. And Mr. Banks had 20,000 more votes than he, and he slunk into insignificance and a broker's shop!

If ever a Governor and Legislature were elected for a specific purpose, Governor Banks and the present General Court of Massachusetts were chosen for the express business of removing Judge Loring. They have done this duty well, and they will receive the applause of their constituents and the approbation of the lovers of liberty everywhere for it. They have done, not what the Abolitionists proper, numerically few as they are, have asked for, but what the deliberate, settled opinion of the State demanded, after four years' deliberation, and an opinion which has grown in strength with every year. This result, among the many satisfactions which it brings along with it, is an excellent illustration of the operation of the Anti-Slavery Movement. It is due, as we have said before, to that movement, not on account of its numerical force at the polls or of the individual weight of its members in Church or State; but because of the fidelity with which it has asked for what ought to be granted, and the persistency with which it has compelled the attention of the people to that particular point. It is in this way that the Abolitionists of Massachusetts have obtained successively everything they have ever asked of their Legislature; because they have never asked for anything that right and justice did not warrant, and that was not for the true honour and interest of the State. And so they will yet obtain whatever they shall ask hereafter, as long as they confine themselves to things that ought to be done, and which, therefore, must be done after due notice and discussion. They have gone forward in the faith that there is yet flesh left in the hearts of men and brains in their heads, and that the average of general intelligence and virtue—though certainly none too high—is far above the level to which the leaders of all political parties would fain reduce them. Here is a plain exposition of the truth of the Scripture that saith—"One shall chase a thousand and two put ten thousand to flight."

We see that *The Boston Courier* states that the loss of his office will be made up to Judge Loring by some especial mark of Presidential favour. We hardly think that this expectation will be fulfilled, as the Slaveholders and their instrument, the National Executive, have never been forward to recompense past services, and there are too many applicants for every office who approved their deserts in the promotion of Mr. Buchanan's election (the only services worth paying for), to make it likely that anything worth while can be spared to Mr. Loring. Still, it may be thought advisable to make an exception in his favour, and we heartily hope that it may be. It would be one of those insults to the moral sense and the self-respect of the people of Massachusetts, and of the rest of the Northern States that agree with her as to this matter, which could not fail to be of a beneficial tendency. Anything that brings home to men's minds the natural antagonism of the Federal Government to the Northern States, and excites afresh the contempt and detestation which are the only feelings honest and intelligent minds should entertain towards it, is good, only good, and that continually. As to the poor object of the Slaveholders bounty, we should not grudge him the crust they might toss to him. We do not wish him or his to suffer personal inconvenience from this disgrace that has befallen him. Let him eat the dirty bread of the custom-house, if he can get it, in what peace he may, as long as he cannot efface the mark of the branding-iron which his native State has three times burnt into his forehead.

The *Christian Leader*, the lately established organ of the Free Presbyterian Church, has not been received at this office for several weeks past. Is it defunct?

FROM WASHINGTON.

The bill for the admission of Kansas to the Union under the Lecompton Constitution passed the Senate on Tuesday, by the following vote:

Yeas—Fitzpatrick and Clay, of Ala.; Sebastian and Johnson, of Ark.; Gwin, Cal.; Bayard, Del.; Mallory and Yulee, Flor.; Iverson and Toombs, Ga.; Fitch and Bright (holding seats by fraud), Ind.; Jones, Iowa; Thompson, Ky.; Benjamin and Slidell, La.; Kennedy and Pearce, Md.; Brown, Miss.; Green and Polk, Mo.; Wright and Thompson, N. J.; Biggs, N. C.; Bigler, Pa.; Allen, R. I. (the only New England man whose vote outraged the sentiments of his constituents); Evans and Hammond, S. C.; Johnson, Tenn.; Houston (under instruction), Henderson, Texas; Mason and Hunter, Va.—33.

Nays—Broderick, Cal.; Foster and Dixon, Ct.; Douglas and Trumbull, Ill.; Harlan, Iowa; Crittenden, Ky.; Fessenden and Hamlin, Me.; Wilson and Sumner, Mass.; Stuart and Chandler, Mich.; Hale and Clark, N. H.; Seward and King, N. Y.; Pugh (under instruction) and Wade, Ohio; Simmons, R. I.; Bell, Tenn.; Collamer and Foot, Vt.; Durkee and Doolittle, Wis.—25.

Absent—Bates, Del.; Reid, N. C. Davis, Miss., and Cameron, Pa., paired.

The bill was amended, on motion of Mr. Pugh (in compliance with the urgent entreaties of the President, and in the hope of thereby securing the support of some of the wavering Douglas Democrats in the House), by the insertion of the following clause: "That nothing in this act shall be construed to abridge or infringe any right of the people asserted in the Constitution of Kansas, at all times, to alter, reform or abolish their form of government in such manner as they may think proper, Congress hereby disclaiming any authority to intervene or declare the construction of the Constitution of any State, except to see that it is republican in form and not in conflict with the Constitution of the United States." This is intended to obviate the objection to the Lecompton Constitution based upon the clause which provides for its amendment only after 1864. It is predicted by some that this amendment, while it will fail to strengthen the bill with the North, will excite dissatisfaction among the Southern members, who mean not only to establish slavery in Kansas, but to keep it there, and who, if the bill is not likely to secure this object, will be themselves inclined to defeat it.

Mr. Crittenden offered a substitute for the bill, providing, in substance, that the Constitution be submitted to the people now, and, if approved of, the President to admit Kansas by proclamation. If rejected, the people to call a Convention and frame a Constitution. Lost, 34 to 25.

[In 1854, the Nebraska bill passed the Senate by a vote of 37 to 14—more than two to one; ten Senators being absent, who were supposed to be about equally divided. The Democratic loss in four years is considerable.]

The bill will now go the House, where the anti-Lecompton men feel pretty sure that, with the aid of the Southern Know-Nothings, they can defeat it. The friends of the Administration are evidently alarmed and anxious. The President is using all the patronage at his command to secure the requisite number of votes; and if he fails, it will be the first time in the history of the government that such appliances, in the hands of the Executive, were not sufficiently potent to accomplish the object sought. It has been proposed, when the bill comes from the Senate, to refer it to the Special Committee on Kansas, adding two anti-Lecompton members, so as to secure the investigation which that Committee, as at present constituted, has thus far succeeded in smothering. Others think the better plan will be to move the previous question upon the bill itself, and defeat it outright, being confident that the anti-Lecompton members are strong enough to secure this result.

The debate in the Senate, in the few days preceding the final vote, was very exciting, and, on the part of the Republicans, able and eloquent. Mr. Crittenden, of Ky., denounced the Lecompton fraud in very severe terms, and declared that, Southerner and slaveholder as he was, he scorned to take anything for the South by injustice and fraud. Messrs. Trumbull of Ill., Bell of Tenn., Foster of Conn., Foot of Vt., Simmons of R. I., Broderick of Cal., Wilson of Mass., Stuart of Mich., and Douglas of Ill., also spoke ably on the same side. Mr. Foot's speech is said to have been very thorough and effective. Mr. Wilson answered the speech of Mr. Hammond of S. C., in which that representative of the chivalry denounced Northern labourers as slaves, "the mudsills of society." The correspondent of *The Tribune* says:

"Senator Wilson spoke for nearly three hours, and made the best speech he ever made. It was chiefly in reply to Gov. Hammond, defending the mechanics and labourers of the North from the charge of being white slaves. He said that he was the son of a labourer, and had been the greater part of his life a labourer himself. He could not sit silent while the working class was reviled and misrepresented. He eloquently described the manliness, thrift, good conduct and intelligence of the working men of the North, and showed, by an overwhelming array of evidence, that their condition was superior to that of the non-slaveholding whites of the South, and even to that of the majority of slaveholders."

Mr. Douglas was in feeble health, but spoke three hours with much force and spirit. The Senate chamber on this occasion was crowded beyond precedent, ladies being admitted within the bar. Mr. D. explained and defended his past course, and denounced the Lecompton fraud with great severity; but he made no new points.

The debate on the Lecompton side was conducted chiefly by Toombs of Ga., Clay of Ala., Bright of Ia., Bayard of Del., and Green of Mo. Toombs was insolent and domineering, and Clay vulgar, as usual, while Green, the representative *par excellence* of the Border Ruffians, showed himself a worthy champion of the most gigantic villany of modern times.

In the House, during the past week, the Kansas question has been the chief topic of discussion, but nothing of any great importance has occurred, unless it was the following dialogue, which took place on Saturday.

Mr. Barksdale, of Mississippi—He would ask the Republican side whether they would vote for the admission of Kansas if a hundred thousand people desired admission with slavery?

Mr. Giddings replied that he would never consent that Ohio shall associate with another slave State.

Mr. Barksdale wanted to know whether Mr. Giddings spoke for the whole Republican party?

Mr. Giddings answered that he spoke for the independent, reflecting portion of mankind generally.

Mr. Barksdale—The Black Republican portion you mean. He then asked Mr. Bingham, of Ohio, whether he would vote for the admission of a slave State?

Mr. Bingham—Certainly not; by no means.

Mr. Barksdale—The opposition to the Lecompton Constitution, then, is based on the ground that it tolerates slavery.

Mr. Stanton (Ohio), thought he might safely say that the Republicans would never vote for a slave State north of the line of 36 deg. 30 min.

Mr. Barksdale—Will they vote for slave States south of that line.

Mr. Stanton believed some would.

Mr. Barksdale said if no more slave States are to be admitted, then the South ought to know it. She has been constantly yielding in point of territory, and has suffered from Northern aggressions.

Mr. Colfax (Indiana), in response to Mr. Barksdale, said he would not vote for the admission of Kansas if her whole people came here with a slave Constitution.

The House voted, 143 to 43, against any increase of the Standing Army, and in favour of allowing the President to accept the services of five regiments of Volunteers, to be employed in settling the Mormon and Indian troubles. The Army bill, in this shape, passed by a vote of 124 to 73.

"VOLUNTARY EMIGRATION."

Our Philadelphia correspondent has forwarded us the following letter, received by him from a highly respectable and intelligent gentleman of his acquaintance in that city. It will help to expose the shallow pretence under which the attempt is now being made, here and elsewhere, to revive the execrable slave trade. We trust that if our correspondent should have any further communications from Dr. Hutchenson or his friend Mr. Power, he will favour us with the result.

Dear Sir: A few weeks ago, I received a letter from T. J. Hutchenson, M.D., Her British Majesty's Consul for the Bight of Biafra, West Coast of Africa, at Fernando Po, in which occurs the following allusion to the slave trade, in reply to a few remarks of mine on the subject.

"As for the present race of American and Spanish people turning their backs on the inhuman slave trade, because the light of the Divine Law shines on them, they will never give it up on that account, I fear, so long as the gold doubloon and almighty dollar shines on the other side of the way. The Americans, to their shame be it said, are acting a most disgraceful part out here, in collusion with the Spaniards and Portuguese. Nearly all the slave vessels which have been captured by us were seen, in the first instance, with the American flag, and having American papers, of course thereby denying to our squadron the right of search. France, too, I regret to say, has adopted a system they call 'voluntary emigration.' I had a splendid example of this a few weeks ago, in this harbour, which, of course, as in duty bound, I reported to my Government. A French transport ship, the 'Phœnix,' came here, which was bound to Cayenne, and had 300 Krumen on board. They were reported to me, by the captain, as voluntary emigrants; and, to show you how much of the voluntary was in their condition, they were all in chains, and there were six soldiers, with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, walking the decks, night and day.

"As for getting the natives of Africa to emigrate voluntarily from their districts, it is entirely out of the question, save with the Krumen, who agree to go to the palm oil rivers on the coast, and who are certain of being sent back. The love of home is one of the most remarkable characteristics of the native African; indeed, these are ever looking forward to the period of their return to their native Jerusalem, and, therefore, the absurdity of the French captain, who tried to make me believe these men had agreed with him to serve for ten years, was apparent, even to any one knowing less of the African character than I do."

If you have any desire for a correspondent on the West Coast of Africa, I have no doubt you would find Dr. Hutchenson both able and willing to give you the earliest news of all that transpires there, relating to the "sum of all villanies," as I have known him a consistent and unswerving Abolitionist for upwards of fifteen years.

Very truly yours, Jno. Power.

Philadelphia, March 6th, 1858.

PRAYING FOR A HERETIC.

Some of the active promoters of the religious revival in Boston have made the Rev. Theodore Parker a subject of public prayer, referring to him by name as a bad man needing to be convicted and converted. If they have manifested any anxiety for the conversion to Christianity of South-side Adams and other clerical pro-slavery Atheists, the fact has not come under our observation. Some of the prayers for Mr. Parker were reported, literally, by the Boston *Bee*, as follows:

"O, Lord, *if* this man (Parker) *is* a subject of grace, convert him and bring him into the kingdom of thy dear Son; but if he is beyond the reach of the saving influence of the gospel, *remove* him out of the way, and let his influence *die with him*"!

"O, Lord, if this man will still persist in speaking in public, induce the people to leave him and come and fill this house instead of that!"

"O, Lord, send *confusion* and *distraction* into his study *this afternoon* and *prevent* his finishing his preparation for his labours to-morrow, or if he shall attempt to desecrate thy holy day by attempting to speak to the people, meet him there, O, Lord, and confound him so that he shall not be able to speak!"

"Lord, we know that we cannot argue him down, and the more we say against him, the more the people flock after him, the more they love and revere him. O, Lord, what shall be done for Boston, if thou dost not take some of these matters in hand!"

Not one of these prayers, at the date of our last advices from Boston, had been answered, Mr. Parker having been neither "removed" by death, nor prevented, by Divine interposition, from preaching. The supplicants, we fear, lacked faith; or, perhaps, like the prophets of Baal, they did not pray loud enough to be heard! On the very Sunday when Mr. Parker, if their prayers had availed anything, should either have been dead or "confounded," he is said to have preached to his congregation a most eloquent and impressive sermon on "The Love of God," in which he earnestly exhorted his hearers, especially the young, to cultivate religion as superior and far more desirable than knowledge, refinement, wealth, or any other attainment. "Religion," said he, "is beyond all price. There are millionaires in Boston, whose possessions extend on every side, yet whose hungry and naked souls shiver and perish in a worse than arctic winter; and there are those who carry their whole worldly possessions in a basket by their side, whose wealth of soul surpasses all possible earthly goods." Mr. Parker's creed, for aught that we know, may be very defective (though that is a subject foreign to these columns); but it strikes us that these sentiments are not unworthy of a Christian teacher. And here are some lines of Mr. Parker, from the last number of the *Christian Inquirer*, which do not sound like the breathings of an irreligious or infidel soul:

CHRIST
THE WAY, THE TRUTH AND THE LIFE.

O thou great Friend to all the sons of men,
  Who once appeared in humblest guise below,
Sin to rebuke, to break the captive's chain,
  And call thy brethren forth from want and woe;

We look to thee! thy truth is still the Light
  Which guides the nations, groping on their way,
Stumbling and falling in disastrous night,
  Yet hoping ever for the perfect day.

Yes; thou art still the Life, thou art the Way
  The holiest know; Light, Life, the Way of heaven!
And they who dearest hope, and deepest pray,
  Toil by the Light, Life, Way, which thou hast given.

For fifteen years Mr. Parker has been almost the only occupant of a pulpit in Boston who has dared to apply the ethical principles of Christianity to the great sin and crime of the nation. Other pulpits, Orthodox and Unitarian, have resounded with apologies for slavery and the Fugitive Slave law, and with defences of men in high places who dared to scoff at the Higher Law of God—*his* only with denunciations of such wickedness. If he has done this work of God in spite of an erroneous creed, while Orthodox preachers, in spite of a sound one, have done the work of the Devil, which most needs a change of heart, he or they? "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Caleb Cushing's Speech on the Removal of Loring is thus described by the Boston correspondent of *The Times*:

"General Cushing spoke at some length, evidently feeling about as comfortable as Mr. Guido Faux felt when he was nabbed in the midst of his powder. He pitched into the Personal Liberty act, and declared that that act should never interfere with his right to catch runaway negroes. As a 'high private' in the militia, he should always participate in such business, that coming under his idea of the 'pursuit of happiness' specifically mentioned in the Declaration of Independence, and guaranteed by lots of constitutions and laws. Carried away by the patriotic ardour of the moment, he exclaimed or might have done so, in the language of Ossian Epaminondas Alcibiades Xerxes Bragge, in his Vision of Ameriky:

"'Land of the fair-faced maid and wild racoon,
  Land of the bowie-knife and faultless trigger,
Land of the glorious flag of stars and stripes,
  The only thing that's striped—except a nigger!'

"As the general is in his fifty-ninth year, an age when even a Roman could have pleaded exemption from active service, the House was much struck with this display of patriotic zeal, though some members thought it was rather an odd commentary on Thackeray's philosophic assertion, that 'grizzly hair the brain doth clear.' But then the General is bald, with as much chance for a new crop on his crown as old Vagises had of raising one on the palm of his hand."

The same writer ridicules the idea, so prevalent in certain quarters, that the blood of the martyred Loring is to be the seed of a new political party which is to overthrow the Republicans:

"The individual is a poor creature, one of those abject things out of which no extent of imagination could manufacture even the smallest specimen of a martyr. Most martyrs, it is probable, were humbugs, and owe their characters to the absurd conduct of those who wasted good fagots on them; but Loring could not be even roasted into a martyr. What can be thought of a fellow who caught fugitive slaves *con amore*, and who zealously did that which no gentleman would do even on compulsion? There was a baseness, a downright, positive meanness about all the details of his conduct as a slave-catcher which excited a loathing and a disgust that rendered his removal inevitable, and would have brought it about three years ago, only that there was then another Loring in the Executive Chair. Even those who have contended most strongly for the *Judge* heartily despise the *man*, and have been his champion only because they believed that a blow was aimed at the Judiciary through his person. To suppose that a man who took such delight in outraging the sentiments of Massachusetts is likely to have many friends in Massachusetts, is to suppose that the laws of humanity are to be suspended in behalf of a silly, a vain-glorious and a stony-hearted egotist, who has not one solitary quality that can command respect or create enthusiasm. Ziska's skin made a good drum-head, but who ever thought of seeking to rally a party under the inspiration that proceeds from the skin of an ass?"

Escape of Slaves.—We take the following item of news from a letter to the *New York Herald*, dated Nassau, New Providence, Feb. 23.

"We had an arrival from Key West on the morning of the 22d, to wit—a boat containing, all told, eleven men, women and children, fugitive slaves. They reached Andros Island on Monday, the 15th, and were piloted to Nassau, having left Key West on the previous Saturday. They were employed at the fort at Key West. They are no longer slaves, the British shore being their palladium. The parties came over in a government boat, which, I understand, they tendered to the United States Consul, who has refused to receive her. Probably the late owners will come in search; indeed, everybody thought that pursuit had been given up, when, yesterday morning, the little steamer General Concha came over the bar. It was soon ascertained, however, that she was from New York bound to Havana, and that she had put in for coal."

Another letter, dated Feb. 27th, says:

"Intelligence was brought yesterday by a wrecker that he had fallen in with a large sloop, on the west side of Grand Bahama, having on board at least thirty fugitive slaves, on their way to this port from St. Augustine. They asked and were directed as to their course. If all goes right with them, they may be here in a day or two. The Bahama Friendly Society have sent out a vessel in search of them.

"The men who arrived on Monday have all found work, and it is to be hoped they will be more happy than when under the absolute control of others. One of them, it appears, was induced to 'run,' he having paid his master $500 on account of the purchase of his freedom, and the heartless fellow subsequently sold him for $1,000, keeping (to use the mildest possible term) the $500."

Thanks to the British Government for granting an asylum to the exiles from American tyranny. We hope to hear next of the safe arrival of the schooner above spoken of, with her precious freight.

LETTER FROM BOSTON.

an Occasional Correspondent.

BOSTON, March 21, 1858.

THE remark, in your last paper, of your Boston correspondent D. Y. (long may he live, and write letters to THE STANDARD), that the "official days of Judge Loring are numbered," had something more of prophetic strain than he himself could have been aware of. Little did he imagine, I may venture to affirm, that before another number of THE STANDARD could be issued, the said Judge Loring would have ceased to be a Judge in old Massachusetts; and that, not by the indirect and circuitous operation of the new law consolidating the Probate and Insolvent Courts, but by the direct action of the Governor of Massachusetts, upon the Address of the Senate and House of Representatives, and with the consent of the Council.

Such, however, is the great, the glorious, the cheering fact, as your readers will doubtless have generally learned before this number of your paper reaches them. With a promptness highly praiseworthy, Gov. Banks took action at once in the case. The Senate, by a vote of 24 to 14 (26 to 14 in fact, for one member absent, through illness, and the President of the Senate, who did not vote, were known both to be in favour of the removal), had, on Wednesday, agreed to the Address, asking the Governor to remove Edward Greeley Loring from the office of Judge of Probate of Suffolk County. On Thursday, a committee, specially appointed, waited upon the Governor with the address. He announced that he would send his reply to the Legislature on the morning following.

Accordingly, on Friday forenoon, at about eleven o'clock, I repaired to the Representatives' Chamber to be an eye and ear witness of the scene. Some anxiety was felt in regard to the course which Gov. Banks would take; though that anxiety had, day by day, been growing less, and yielding to the belief that he would not, like his *dis*honoured predecessor, refuse to comply with the will of the people, and with the request of the Legislature, now for a third time expressed in clear and emphatic terms. At quarter before twelve, the Sergeant-at-Arms announced, "A Message from his Excellency the Governor." An instant hush fell upon the House. The seats of the members were full. The spectators' galleries and every inch of standing room below were occupied by an eager crowd. A page of the House received the document and carried it to the Speaker, who, opening it, and saying that it was a reply to the Address of the two Branches of the Legislature asking for the removal of Judge Loring, handed it to be read by the Clerk. Seldom has every word of an executive document been listened to with a closer attention. And when the Governor announced that, in compliance with the request of the Senate and House of Representatives, and with the consent of the Council, he HAD REMOVED Edward Greeley Loring from the office of Judge of Probate of Suffolk County, the emotion of the assembly thrilled through the crowd. I regret to say that the Governor appended to this announcement of a wholesome and most honourable act a recommendation to shear the Personal Liberty law of 1855 of some of its most necessary and salutary provisions. Expressly approving the general principle of that law, and also that portion of it which prohibits one holding any judicial office under the United States (including a Commissionership) from at the same time holding a judicial office of this Commonwealth, he considered those other sections which prohibit, under penalties, all citizens of the State from acting as counsel of slave-hunters, or as a military guard to assist in the execution of the Fugitive Slave law, as unnecessary and unwise, and recommended their repeal. It is not at all probable that this Legislature, now understood to be within a few days of its adjournment, will comply with this recommendation. Nor do I believe that any future Legislature will take such a retrograde step in the march of freedom. The people of Massachusetts have learned too well the nature of Southern usurpation and arrogance to be backing down at this late day before either. I am no technical lawyer, and it may be that the clauses to which the Governor refers may need some verbal alteration *to make them more distinct and positive*, and remove ground of cavil, but nothing nothing else. If the Legislature of Massachusetts touches that wholesome law at all, it will be to make it more stringent, and to make it a more shameful and disgraceful act for any of its citizens to lend the smallest aid or countenance to that infamous and execrable enactment, the Fugitive Slave law.

But to return to the Representatives' Hall—for the most stirring part of the scene is yet untold, nor can any words of mine do justice thereto. When the message had been read, Mr. John A. Andrew, of Boston, moved its reference to a Select Committee. Upon this, Caleb Cushing, of Newburyport,—a man who shames his native State and the soil of New England wherever he goes, and almost whenever he opens his mouth—obtained the floor. Putting on the most solemn and lengthened face—for none can *look* more solemn than such as he when it will serve their purpose—he began, "Mr. Speaker, THE DEED IS DONE"!—whereupon the venerable Mr. Dodge, of Chatham (who has no *dodge* about him, except the name), responded with a sonorous AMEN! Then burst forth the hitherto-restrained feeling of the House, not only in peals of laughter, but in an unmistakable round of applause, in which the spectators also could not refrain from joining. The Speaker's hammer soon restored composure, and Mr. Cushing again essayed to go on. But his speech had been deprived of much of its intended effect. In vain he pulled the old strings which the shameless demagogues who call themselves Democrats have juggled the people with so long. Nothing is plainer than that this Massachusetts House of Representatives understands Caleb Cushing thoroughly, and values him accordingly. He endeavoured to depict the mournful consequences which are to follow the removal of Judge Loring; he did what he could to excite party clamour against it; he foreshadowed the further steps which would be taken in obedience to the same popular feeling which had now removed from his seat a Massachusetts Judge of Probate; and closed with an attack upon Senator Seward's recent speech in the United States Senate.

John A. Andrew replied to Mr. Cushing. Though clearly extemporaneous, his speech was masterly, eloquent, and effective, as all agreed beyond anything uttered in that House this winter. As I hope you will find room for it, I shall attempt no analysis or account of it. It was instinct with high moral life. His whole nature seemed struggling for utterance, as he declared the fixed purpose of Massachusetts to *go forward* in behalf of Justice and Liberty, and his clear voice, rising to an unusual strength, rang through the arches of the hall and thrilled the hearts of his hearers. As a demolishing reply to the absurdities and *falsehood* of Caleb Cushing's speech, it was perfect. The fixed time of morning adjournment arrived, but the House was loth to adjourn, and cries of "Go on," "go on," came from all quarters.

am told that, at the commencement of the session, arrangements were made to give the leadership of the Republican party in the House to such men as Duncan of Haverhill, Vose of Springfield, and Hale of Boston. These gentlemen all have their meritorious qualities, but an open, frank, explicit purpose to regard the claims of liberty and humanity as paramount to those of party cannot be reckoned among them. Hence it has followed that on all the most important topics of legislation, where the moral sentiment of the Legislature and of the people was invoked, and where the honour and dignity of the Commonwealth were in question, the House has instinctively preferred to acknowledge and adopt the counsels of Messrs. Andrew of Boston, Pitman of New Bedford, Wells of Greenfield, and others who, like them, would consent to no compromises with the slaveholding power whether proposed directly or by *attorney*—even though it were an ex-Attorney-General retained on that side.

My letter has run on to a most unexpected length, but I cannot forbear, in conclusion, to advert to the long struggle which the friends of freedom in Massachusetts have had, in their efforts to vindicate the honour of Massachusetts, and obtain a richly-deserved SENTENCE—for the *verdict* was pronounced in 1854—against a slave-catching and contumacious Judge. The sovereignty of the people of Massachusetts, the supremacy of her laws, the dignity of her character, are all nobly vindicated by this act of her Governor. The foul wrong done to her by Edward Greeley Loring, when he postponed his Probate Court to go and sit as a Slave Commissioner, and when he trampled upon everything dear to a Massachusetts heart and memory in sending from her soil a man into the hell of Virginia slavery, has been soberly, manfully, and justly avenged. Massachusetts now stands purged of that infamous act of the tyrant's tool. And she has uttered a warning to all her public servants which we trust in God will never be forgotten.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, No. 722. *Contents:* The Royal Class; Evening Service in Westminster Abbey; Lady Strathmore's Daughter; The Primrose with the Purple Background; The Epicure in China; Chinese State Dinner; Landing Elephants at Calcutta; General Havelock; Mormonism and its Prospects. Poetry. Short Articles.

PERSONAL.

Gov. Chase, of Ohio, has appointed Col. Schouler, of the *State Journal*, to the office of Adjutant-General of the State. It is reported, however, that the Colonel will presently return to Boston to assume the editorship of *The Bee*.

The Washington correspondent of the Albany Evening *Journal* writes:

"I never see the snowy crest of Giddings, towering high and conspicuously above his Republican associates, whether standing in council among them on the floor or leading the column through the tellers in the area, but it brings vividly to mind Macauley's trumpet-tongued poem on the white plume of Henry Navarre at the battle of Ivry. Said Henry to his troops before the fight: 'My children, if you lose sight of your colours, rally to my white plume—you will always find it in the path of honour and glory.'

"'Press where you see my white plume shine, amidst the ranks of war,
And be your oriflamme to-day, the helmet of Navarre.'"

Horace Greeley, having promised, conditionally, to deliver an address at the next Agricultural Fair in Lafayette County, Indiana, made the following reasonable request:

"You, of course, have already observed what a farce is often made of these agricultural addresses—the great rush to hear at the outset—the indifference and falling off of hearers after a few minutes—and the drowning of the speaker's voice at intervals, by the roaring of other bulls, and braying of more loud-voiced, if not more eloquent, donkeys! I was completely drowned out at your State Fair, some years back, by a band of music and other brutal noises. Try to help me in this respect, if I go, as I mean to."

Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, in denouncing all labourers as slaves, pronounced sentence of degradation upon his own father! Says a correspondent of *The Evening Post*:

"I knew his father, who was a true Yankee from Massachusetts. He then resided in Lexington District, South Carolina, and was the owner and manager of a saw-mill. He had previously carried on the business of a butcher at Columbia. His chief pride seemed to be centered in his son James, whom he trained from childhood in oratorical exercises. The mother of James was, I think, the daughter of an Englishman named Fox. So the aristocratic Senator is half Yankee, half Bull. His Yankee father grudged no sacrifice to make him an orator and fit him for public life, not expecting that he would distinguish himself chiefly in efforts against the land of his fathers."

The idolatrous reverence for Washington which so extensively prevails, and which always insists in presenting him as a miracle of human perfection, is well hit in the following paragraph from the Boston *Watchman and Reflector*:

"Some of our sharp-sighted American critics are pulling Mr. Thackeray over the coals for his hardihood in venturing to introduce Washington into fiction. They think it presumptuous in an Englishman to make so free with the great American, and quite impertinent to portray Washington as human, with some of the impulses and weaknesses of a young man, instead of absolutely perfect, and unapproachable in virtue. The objections are not wisely taken. Thackeray has devoted much patient study to the character of Washington. He understands it and appreciates it, and will produce a historical portrait quite as accurate probably, and much more human, than any of his biographers, and one of which our countrymen will have no reason to be ashamed."

The Rev. Dr. Bethune thus sharply concludes a letter to the *Christian Intelligencer*, defending the late Judge Kane from some disparagements of Rev. T. L. Cuyler, contained in a letter to the same paper, of the previous week:

"Were Dr. Kane living he would spurn a compliment from the man who treats with disrespect the father whom he idolized, and with whom he always agreed; but especially would he shrink with filial horror from being made the opposite point of a contrast insulting to that father's memory. I knew them both. They were worthy of each other. In India they pile heavy stones on the graves, to keep off the jackals that would tear the flesh of the newly dead. The tomb of living rock on the bank of the Schuylkill, in which the Arctic hero sleeps beside the father whom he venerated with all his soul, has not been so safe an asylum."

If Dr Bethune had lived in the days of Pontius Pilate, that corrupt magistrate would no doubt have found in him a defender and a panegyrist!

Rufus Choate, in a political speech delivered just before the last Presidential election, ventured to sneer at the "glittering and sounding generalities" of the Declaration of Independence. The remark was a most unfortunate one to fall from the lips of an ambitious politician, and we presume Mr. Choate has often regretted it. In a lecture, recently delivered in Boston, speaking of the fathers of the Republic, he executed a "rhetorical flourish" which is certainly "glittering" enough to suit the most ambitious literary pyrotechnist:

"There was that devoted patriotism, never excelled, and the great monument of all, the lasting memento of all their virtues, is still over their graves in the magnificent column—more lasting than bronze or marble—the Declaration of Independence (applause), a column gazed upon by us all in July of every year, and a monument which speaks their glory in fitter terms than were ever graven on stone, terms which find their proper and appropriate tablet on every true American heart."

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for April opens with a chapter of "personal reminiscences" of the period in French history known as "The Hundred Days," being the interregnum in the reign of Louis the Eighteenth, caused by the arrival of Napoleon from Elba and his assumption of the government. The paper is intensely interesting, and is to be continued. "My Journal to my Cousin Mary" is concluded, the later chapters being not less entertaining than the former. "Amours de Voyage" also continued, and *to be* continued. Chapter IId of "The Catacombs of Rome" gives us a history, as exciting as any romance, of the discovery of the grave of St. Cecilia. The subject is not yet concluded. "The Pearl of Diver's Bay," of which we have the four first chapters, is a charming story, at least in the beginning. "The Story of Karin" is a happy versification of a Danish legend. The biographical sketch of the Abbé de L'Epée, the man who devoted his life to the invention and application of the now universally received method of teaching the Deaf and Dumb, cannot fail to gratify every philanthropic reader. "Who is the Thief?" is the title of a facetious and satirical correspondence, written, it is said, by Wilkie Collins, author of "The Dead Secret." "Telling the Bees" is a poem founded upon the custom, which once prevailed in the rural parts of New England, of informing the bees of the death of any member of the family and dressing the hives in mourning. The article on "Persian Poetry" will be interesting to those who are seeking a better acquaintance with the literature of the East. "The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table" is entertaining and witty as usual. "Sandalphon" is a beautiful poem, which the reader will find in another part of this sheet. "Mr. Buchanan's Administration" is the subject of the political article for the month, which is handled with masterly force and ability. It is not often that one finds a piece of political writing so elevated in tone, so uncompromising in principle, and so faithful in the application of truth to current and popular iniquity. The number closes with the usual chapter of "Literary Notices."

The agents for the *Atlantic* in New York are Ross and Tousey, and Dexter and Brother.

PREPARING FOR WAR.—The Washington correspondent of *The Evening Post*, under date of March 9th, says:

"I learn from Mr. Green, one of the Kansas Board of Commissioners, who came as bearer of the testimony taken before his Board, that the work of organizing the militia of the Territory is going on rapidly. Men are employed at $5 per day to organize the various counties. Large volunteer companies are organized, and are nightly drilling in the cities of Lawrence, Leavenworth, Topeka, Ossawottomie, Prairie City and other large towns. It is estimated that, at the present time, there are regularly organized in Kansas Territory 15,000 men. This entire force will repel all attempts to enforce the Lecompton Constitution, should the Federal Government attempt to enforce that instrument upon the people of that Territory. Major-General James H. Lane is the Commander-in-Chief of this force. About 2,000 of these men own horses, and can organize as a cavalry force at short notice; 1,000 are drilled as such already."

Gov. Denver has issued a manifesto, pronouncing these movements of Lane illegal, but the people don't appear to be at all frightened on that account. Says the correspondent of *The Evening Post*, under date of Lawrence, March 4th:

"There is, you may rely upon it, a settled determination among the Free State men to resist the establishment or organization of any government under the Calhoun Constitution; and, whatever the political proclivities of the officers declared to be elected, the resistance to them, should they attempt to organize or discharge their functions, would be equally certain and equally bitter. There are men in this Territory sworn to resist the Lecompton Government, if need be, to the death, and they would as soon hang professing Free State officers, who should undertake to carry it on, as those of avowed pro-slavery principles."

OHIO DISGRACED.—The bills repealing the acts passed by the last Legislature to prevent kidnapping in Ohio, and refusing the use of the jails for the confinement of fugitive slaves, have passed both Houses and are now laws, the Governor of that State not possessing the veto power.

A WORD FROM ENGLAND.—*Extract of a letter from London.*—"You can imagine the interest of public affairs with us here, at this moment, and you will sympathize with us in the overthrow of our Ministry. Since the accession of Louis Napoleon, Lord Palmerston's behaviour has been intolerable; and nothing could be lower than his conduct in the China business a year ago, and his obtaining a packed House of Commons, by making an election-cry out of 'false news.' This same pet House of his has now overthrown him, with unsurpassed ignominy, for truckling to a trembling continental despot, and insulting the honour of England by proposing to make *her chef de police* to Louis Napoleon. He *may* wriggle back again, but we cannot, on the whole, think it will be allowed. Many, who never thought to be glad of a Derbyite Ministry, welcome it for the sake of getting rid of the India Bill. All here are surprised that Louis Napoleon did not know the English people better. But all are happy that the people have vindicated their good old reputation for political vigour and national spirit. But the new Foreign Minister, Lord Malmesbury, is more a friend of Louis Napoleon than a true Englishman."

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, March, 1858.

YOU ask for a more particular account of the "Forney movement," as you term it, than that contained in my last letter. I would gladly oblige you, but I am not sure that I can comply with your request in the manner or to the extent you desire.

The relation of John W. Forney to the Democracy of Pennsylvania is the same substantially as that sustained by Stephen A. Douglas to Illinois and the people of the North-West. Both have been leading men in their party; both have rendered distinguished service to the Slave Oligarchy; both, of late, have incurred the bitter enmity of that power. This last circumstance it is that gives them the only claim they have, at this time, upon the interest of Abolitionists.

Mr. Forney has been, all his life, an ardent and active member of the Democratic party. He is a man, I should say, about 45 years of age. Born and bred in the town of Lancaster, he was and has been until lately an intimate and devoted friend of Mr. Buchanan; and the chief ambition of his life has been to raise that gentleman to his present eminence. Mr. Buchanan had a high appreciation of his ability to serve him; and when the chair of the *Pennsylvanian* newspaper was made vacant by the death of Joseph C. Neal, the talented gentleman who had till then occupied it, Mr. Forney, with the aid of Mr. Buchanan, was appointed to the editorial charge of that journal. In this position he served his patron and his party, and, through them, the slaveholders of the South, with a fidelity that could not be exceeded and a zeal that knew no bounds. Familiar with all the weapons of partisan warfare, and unscrupulous in their use, he became the leading spirit and animating power of the Pennsylvania Democracy. A ready writer and one knowing well how to touch the chord of vulgar prejudice, he found ample material for the display of his powers in the advocates of emancipation. For effectiveness of misrepresentation and coarseness and bitterness of personal invective, the editorials of *The Pennsylvanian* had no equal, except in the diatribes, in its worst days, of the "Satanic" *New York Herald*. Those of your readers who used to take the *Pennsylvania Freeman* will naturally recall, in corroboration of this, the specimens that used to be reproduced for their edification in the columns of that paper.

During the Administration of President Pierce, the services of Mr. Forney to his party were rewarded by his election as Clerk to the House of Representatives. The duties of that office he has the credit of having performed well and faithfully. During the long contest for the Speakership which ended in the choice of Mr. Banks, it was his place, *ex-officio*, to preside, and his opponents as well as his friends have borne testimony to the fairness and impartiality with which he discharged the difficult duties of his position. At the expiration of a second term of service as Clerk, Mr. Forney returned to his profession as editor, and became one of the writers of the Washington *Union*; and the leading articles of that paper will show that his zeal for the South and hatred for abolition had undergone no abatement. His connection with the *Union* was not of long continuance; the duties of that station proving incompatible with the fealty he felt to be due to his friend and patron, Mr. Buchanan. After the nomination of the latter for the Presidency—an event to which no man had contributed more than had he—Mr. Forney was placed at the head of the Democratic Committee, and entrusted, in an especial manner, with the management of the canvass in this State. How he performed the duties of this position will be fresh in the memory of all who took an interest in the contest. His energy imparted new life to his associates; his skill in electioneering tactics gave them added resources, and, by the stintless and unscrupulous use of one and the other, he conducted his party to a hardly if not honourably earned triumph. Services so signal called for a reward corresponding. A seat in the Cabinet it was supposed for awhile would be his recompense; but the Cabinet was made up and Mr. Forney's name was not of the number. It was understood next that he was to be sent to the Senate—his party in the Legislature being in the majority; but Mr. Buchanan's intervention in his behalf was put forth in such a manner as to defeat his election. The next report was that he was to have the editorship of the *Union*, the Government organ; but this also proved a delusive expectation. Mr. Buchanan, it was said, was willing that he should have the place, but the South was inflexibly opposed to him. Why, I don't exactly know. I believe they said he was no gentleman; but this was hardly their reason. Slaveholders are not apt to stand upon a punctilio when, in doing so, they stand in the way of their own interests. They must have had some reason to suspect his fidelity. At any rate, they were unwilling that he should be appointed to a place of so much responsibility as that of editor of the *Union*. They had no objection to his receiving some other desirable and lucrative appointment. They were willing that he should be made consul for Liverpool, with guarantees of double pay, and this place, made thus additionally tempting, was offered him; but the offer was rejected with disdain. And here was the turning point in Mr. Forney's career. He abandoned the idea of taking office under Mr. Buchanan, and, returning to Philadelphia, resumed once more the duties of his profession. He established a newspaper, which he calls *The Press*. It is a party paper of the Democratic type, but differs altogether in style and temper from the old *Pennsylvanian*. Its political articles are courteous and free from rancour, and its literary and miscellaneous matter, in point of taste and judgment, ranges a good deal above the average of newspaper reading. It has a large and growing circulation, and exerts a visible influence both in and out of the party. Its establishment, it is well understood, did not meet with the approbation of the President; on the contrary, Mr. Buchanan considered the *Pennsylvanian* sufficient for all the purposes of the party in Philadelphia, and was opposed to starting a new organ. This circumstance, together with the alienation rumoured to have taken place between Mr. Forney and the President, and between Mr. Forney and his quondam Southern friends, led to the impression, in certain quarters, that *The Press* was to be somehow or other a new power in the movement against slavery. As yet, however, nothing has appeared in the columns of the paper fairly to warrant this expectation. It is true that, from the beginning, it has been civil to the Abolitionists; it has shown us no discourtesy. It is true, also, that immediately on the publication of Mr. Buchanan's message developing his Kansas policy, *The Press* took prompt and energetic ground in opposition. It is true, too, that he has maintained that ground bravely, keeping up a raking fire upon his opponents, and exposing some of the base schemes of the slaveholders. It is true, also, that he is denounced by his opponents as a "Black Republican," and that his paper is charged with ill-disguised hostility to the institutions of the South. But there is nothing in all this to warrant the impression which some inexperienced persons seem disposed to encourage, that Mr. Forney is either at heart an anti-slavery man or that his paper is destined to become, in any proper sense, an anti-slavery journal. On the contrary, there are facts in Mr. Forney's past history, and circumstances connected with his present position, which forbid the indulgence of any such belief or expectation. From the beginning of his public career to the present time, the editor of *The Press* has been avowedly the enemy of all who are enemies of American slavery. *That is his position on the record at this moment.* As the friend of the South and the opponent of all forms of anti-slavery action, he has been, in times past, what John Randolph would have called "villanously consistent." In the recklessness of his zeal to accomplish the ends of an ignoble ambition, he has said and done things which can neither be excused nor palliated. They may be forgiven, but they cannot soon be forgotten; until Mr. Forney's public course shall be such as to condemn them, they will stand in judgment against him. Past offences against truth and justice, unless openly repudiated, stand as evidences of present character. According to this rule of judgment, Mr. Forney is not only no anti-slavery man, but he is the determined opponent of all who are anti-slavery men. He himself makes no profession of having undergone any change. On the contrary, he refers with apparent pride to his past fidelity to the South and to the proofs of his zeal in behalf of their peculiar institution. He claims, or has claimed when occasion has called for an expression of his feelings, that he is as sincere a supporter as ever of Mr. Buchanan and his Administration, and all this he does in face of the recent developments of character and policy made by the slaveholders, and of the accumulating evidences of personal and official baseness on the part of Mr. Buchanan. In these professions, Mr. Forney is either sincere or he is not; in neither case—whatever may be the interest felt in his course—can anti-slavery men regard him with any feeling of complacency.

Of Stephen A. Douglas I might, for the same reasons, say the same thing. It will take a long course of decent behaviour to obliterate the memory of his past vulgarities. The years of willing service rendered by him to the South, as party overseer and as Senatorial whipper-in, make up too large a part of his public history to be suddenly forgotten in view of a single act of manly resistance. It was Mr. Douglas who, conscious of his inability to answer the argument of Mr. Sumner's speech, tried to counteract its effect by coarse taunts and ill-bred sneers; it was he who, on the same occasion, out-doing his Southern models, asked, "Does the Senator want us to kick him?" he, too, it was who justified his passive spectatorship of Brooks's cowardly assault by the excuse that he feared, if he interposed, that his "motives would be misconstrued."

These things are facts—facts which stand on record and which honest and honourable men cannot forget. They indicate not only the impulse of the passing hour, but the texture of the moral nature from which the impulse sprung.

And yet the fact is not to be overlooked that bad men sometimes become good men, and selfish politicians are, once in a great while, transformed into public-spirited benefactors. And these changes, it sometimes happens, hinge on a mere accident and are brought about by apparently very trifling causes. The adoption in a single instance of a right principle will sometimes throw a man into such company, or surround him with such influences, or induce such trains of reflection, as will work in him an entire renovation of character. This may possibly have been in the case of Messrs. Forney and Douglas; and perhaps also in that of some others. My prayer is that it may. Saul of Tarsus became Paul the Apostle; and, to come to a case further down and more to the point, John P. Hale went to Congress an Isaac Hill New Hampshire Democrat, and he became a liberal-minded anti-slavery statesman. It is true that neither Saul nor John had such a record standing against him as have Stephen and the other John; but if it be true that "the greater the sinner, the greater the saint," as it certainly is true that the noblest heroism is that which vanquishes the most formidable obstacles, a rare opportunity is now offered to Messrs. Forney and Douglas of acquiring for their names an honourable and enduring distinction. Anti-slavery human nature is forgiving and easy to be entreated; it harbours no personal animosity and feeds no ancient grudge; and nothing is more certain than that if the public conduct of the gentlemen referred to should be such as to indicate a radical change of purpose and principle on their part, no class of persons would be more forward than the Abolitionists to acknowledge the fact and award all honour to the men.

As to the "movement" of Mr. Forney, I have only space here to say that it seems highly popular and promises to emancipate the Democracy of this State from their long and patiently borne vassalage to the South. This will be a great gain. Pennsylvania has been the political "key-stone" of the slave system; let this be knocked out of its place, and that iniquitous superstructure will at least have lost its chief support.

M.

From our Cincinnati Correspondent.

CINCINNATI, March, 1858.

THE dissatisfaction with the Kansas policy of the President is increasing in the North-West, and the mass of the so-called Democratic party is becoming every day more decided in opposition to it. A large Anti-Lecompton meeting of that party was held here, last week, in the same hall in which the nomination of Buchanan for President was made, and presented a marked contrast to the enthusiasm exhibited in the same room when that nomination was unamimously confirmed. Stanley Mathews, H. B. Payne (late Democratic candidate for Governor), and others addressed the meeting. The latter was very severe and pointed in his remarks on the President's Kansas policy. The meeting was composed of the most prominent and reliable Democrats in the city—men who have always voted and acted with that party in every emergency. The resolutions of the Indiana and Ohio Legislatures—both controlled by the Democrats—show that the sentiment of the party here is very decided against this last instance of truckling to the Slave Power. The editors and officeholders, in the pay of the Government, of course, sustain the President. Prominent among these is the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, which depends for its life on Government patronage. But the mass of the party are for freedom in Kansas, and it is a good sign that they have the independence to speak out in despite of party discipline. The truth is, they know that the party must lose ground in the Northern States if it be committed to the Southern policy. The Republican party, however they may affect to despise it, is a growing party; the agitation of the Slavery question tends to keep it up; and it has the moral sense of the people at its back to strengthen it. It is natural enough that the President should go with the South. He owes his elevation to that section, and is expected to obey the behests of the Slave Power. But this policy will be ruin to his party in the North, and every day it is persevered in the anti-slavery sentiment becomes more thoroughly aroused, and the party which, to some extent, embodies it is encouraged. It is, therefore, *good policy* to take a stand against the pro-slavery measures of the President—in fact it is absolutely necessary if the Democracy wish to maintain their ascendency at the North.

Let us, however, be just, and give those who compose the party *some* credit for a measure of anti-slavery principle. Making all due allowance for the "doughfaces," there are many among them who are really opposed to the extension and perpetuation of slavery, but have clung to the Democratic organization as the best, on the whole, of the parties of the country, and their attachment to many of its financial measures and general policy has kept them from seeing its subserviency to the Slave Power. This is becoming so palpable that they cannot much longer resist the truth, and the so-called Democratic party must certainly lose, as it certainly has been doing for some years past, its once boasted strength at the North.

I have read your remarks upon my last letter, but can not see that I have misapprehended the controversy between the Abolitionists and the Voluntary Benevolent Societies. It is true that Abolitionists have censured the Churches supporting these Societies for not instructing them to take decided anti-slavery ground, but they have repeatedly censured the Directors for not coming up to their expectations or demands in this respect. The reply of the Boards has certainly, in some cases, been to the effect that they were but agents of the Churches, or of individual Christians, and bound to respect their wishes; that only a few ultra men in the North demanded any advanced action in regard to slavery, and that the general sentiment of the contributors approved the past course of the Society. The reason given by the Board of the Home Mission Society for their anti-slavery resolution last year was, that they had received letters from contributors, had read the newspapers, and had become satisfied that the Churches demanded the action referred to. Those opposed to it maintained that it was in advance of the public sentiment of the Church, and never would have been adopted, at a full meeting of the Society, after a fair discussion. You are mistaken if you suppose the Directors of the Tract and kindred Societies profess to publish all that they believe to be the revealed will of God. These Societies are built upon a compromise, and the Baptist, Presbyterian and Episcopalian members of their Boards agree to refrain from publishing much of what they regard to be the truth. In regard to doctrinal points, they are restricted by the constitution of their Society; and in regard to the various details of practical religion, they are governed by what they deem as imperative—the wishes of their constituents. If they had been sure that their contributors were opposed to the Divine authority of the Sabbath, or in favour of the theatre, or dancing, or moderate drinking, they would never have published what they have upon those subjects. Let the anti-slavery sentiment of the Churches be strengthened, and quickened, and concentrated as fast as possible, and made to bear upon the managers, as it never yet has done, and they will be compelled to obey it or give place to those who will. The democratic principle, which makes both constitutions and officeholders conform to the will of the majority, must, in the long run, prevail. In what I said in my former letter as to the democratic doctrine of instruction applied to delegated bodies, I see nothing to which you or any true republican ought to object. It is all orthodox except to a monarchist. It is useless to expect much, in the way of moral Reform, of the State or of Religious Societies, unless it coincides with public opinion, and has a moral power in the people to sustain it.

The sin rests *mainly* upon the Churches which profess to teach the *whole will* of *God* and the people who support them. Let these be revolutionized, and the Benevolent Societies will most assuredly be made to take the stand upon every subject which true religion requires

Yours,

P.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—Would not our correspondent's argument apply with equal force as an excuse for unjust Presidents and corrupt Members of Congress, who are not only not instructed by the majority of their constituents to do justice to the slave, but deliberately chosen by them to do injustice? Shall we then cease to rebuke those in high places and concentrate our indignation solely upon the people? Is it not as true now as it was in the days of Isaiah, that "the leaders of the people cause them to err"?

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE STANDARD.

APPEAL OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE Executive Committee of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY take the opportunity of the editorial change in the conduct of THE STANDARD, now announced,* to address their earnest appeal to each and every of their associate members of the Society, and to all the friends of an uncompromising anti-slavery journal.

Hitherto THE STANDARD has not had a self-supporting subscription-basis. It has, doubtless, deserved it too well to obtain it in the past. But the change for the better, which our anti-slavery action has effected upon the public mind, warrants our expecting and calling for such a basis in future. To accomplish this, we ask the steady, unanimous coöperation of every friend of THE STANDARD, and of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The excellence of THE STANDARD as a journal, whether in regard to its literary taste, its editorial ability or its typographical accuracy and neatness, is unhesitatingly offered for comparison in these particulars with any other American journal; while in respect to its anti-slavery fidelity, fearlessness and discernment, it is enough to say that it is the organ of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, the only associated body in the land which takes the high and impregnable ground of the utter SINFULNESS OF SLAVERY, of the DUTY OF IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION of every slave on our soil, and of the cor-relative DUTY OF EVERY MAN TO CEASE FROM ALL GOVERNMENTAL, POLITICAL OR ECCLESIASTICAL UNION WITH THE AMERICAN SLAVEHOLDER AND SLAVE-TRADER.

On these grounds, and for the cause's sake, we solicit of every friend of the American Slave an immediate and a persevering attention to the work of securing to THE STANDARD a large and self-supporting subscription-list, thus leaving the funds obtained by donation to the Society's treasury to be applied to other agencies.

We can confidently assure all friends of our cause, that we believe there will be no diminution in the interest or value of THE STANDARD, in consequence of the changes which have necessarily been made. We shall indeed lose the services of a thoroughly able, conscientious, faithful and judicious editor, by the retirement of Mr. Gay. But arrangements have been made for securing editorial labour and oversight, of the most thorough and effective kind, and THE STANDARD will, under the continued editorial supervision of our tried coadjutor, OLIVER JOHNSON, undoubtedly maintain, and add to, its acknowledged excellence.

With this fixed purpose, on the part both of Committee and Editors, we call with earnestness upon *all* our associates and friends to give THE STANDARD a large circulation throughout the Non-Slaveholding States, and, as far possible, through the Slaveholding States also. There are no journals in existence—not even the best of the *Tribunes*, *Evening Posts*, and *Independents*—which can be trusted to do, or which even propose to do, the thorough, vigorous and uncompromising work which THE STANDARD will do. There is no journal which supersedes or renders THE STANDARD unnecessary. No tampering with this great Sin, no daubing with untempered mortar, no filming-over the ulcerous spot, no consent to a temporizing policy or to half-way measures shall ever disgrace it.

FRIENDS OF THE AMERICAN SLAVE! FRIENDS OF HUMANITY! FRIENDS OF YOUR COUNTRY, in deed and in truth! Will you not at once, and from every quarter, the nearest and the most remote from our centre of publication, respond to this call? Send to our office, 138 Nassau street, New York, the name of every new subscriber whom you can obtain. Send thither intelligence of the cause in your neighbourhoods. Send your words of cheer and counsel. And by your united strength, give to our STANDARD a more conspicuous position in the land, and a new power for the Deliverance of the Enslaved.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,
FRANCIS JACKSON,
EDMUND QUINCY,
MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,
WENDELL PHILLIPS,
ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,
CHARLES F. HOVEY,
SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH,
CHARLES K. WHIPPLE,
Executive Committee.

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*See STANDARD of March 7th.

CORRECTION.—"W. B.," of Richmond, Ia., writes us at some length to correct what he deems errors of fact and opinion in a short editorial paragraph, headed "Modern Quakerism," in THE STANDARD of Feb. 20th. The Quaker preacher therein alluded to he presumes to be not "Susan Fredericks, of Baltimore," but Susan B. Pedrick, of Richmond, Ia. He is probably right, but the error originated in a Jamaica paper, not with us. It also appears that the preacher mentioned did not go to Jamaica to investigate the results of emancipation, but simply to "pay a religious visit to the inhabitants" of the island, "without distinction of colour." The error on this point, also, if one has been committed, originated in Jamaica, not with us. Whether our reasoning upon the statements thus shown to be erroneous was just or otherwise, is a question which we cannot now spare room to discuss. We are glad to be assured that Mrs. Pedrick is "highly esteemed" and "much beloved" by her sect, and that she and her husband "have had numerous satisfactory religious meetings" in Jamaica.

THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE FOR WOMAN.—Mr. Higginson, of Worcester, Mass., ever zealous to promote the elevation of woman, has caused to be published in a four-page pamphlet, Twenty-five Testimonies of Prominent Men in favour of Female Suffrage. The men alluded to are Ex-Governor Anthony, of Rhode Island; Rev. Henry Ward Beecher; Rev. W. H. Channing; Rev. Charles Follen, D.D.; O. S. Fowler; W. L. Garrison; Horace Greeley; Judge Hay, of New York; Judge Hurlbut, of New York; Rev. T. W. Higginson; Rev. Asa Mahan, D.D.; Rev. S. J. May; John Neal; Rev. Theodore Parker; Rev. John Pierpont; Wendell Phillips; James Redpath; Hon. Samuel E. Sewall; Hon. C. C. Sholes; Gerrit Smith; H. H. Van Amringe; Hon. Amasa Walker; Ohio Senate Report; Wisconsin Legislative Report.

This pamphlet may be had at this office—price 1 cent single; 50 cents a hundred.

DEATH OF A GOOD MAN.—We are pained to see in the papers an announcement of the death of the Rev. JOSEPH GORDON, for many years editor of *The Free Presbyterian*, which he conducted with signal ability and in an uncompromising spirit. He died on the 1st inst., of consumption, near Washington, Pa. Calvinistic in his theology, and devoted to the Church of his choice, his spirit was yet eminently catholic toward those friends of the slave whose religious opinions he deemed erroneous; and never, under any circumstances, did he echo the false cry of "infidel," raised against them by pro-slavery men of his own faith, and frequently repeated by "false brethren" who once had a place in the anti-slavery camp.

REVIVALS OF RELIGION.—On this subject we shall, next week, present our views at some length. Meanwhile we commend to the attention of every reader the extract in another column from a recent article from the pen of Mrs. Stowe, in which we are told how to discriminate between genuine and spurious revivals. The rule she lays down is precisely that by which the Abolitionists have always been guided in their judgment of the popular religion.

SENATOR WADE, of Ohio, is one of the bravest of all the members of Congress from the North. His recent speech on the Lecompton fraud appears to have awakened the fiercest wrath of the slaveholders. The Washington correspondent of *The South* concludes a long and bitter diatribe against it as follows:

"Mr. Sumner was chastised for milder insults than those conveyed in the remarks of the Senator from Ohio; even that big sneak, Wilson, has scarcely dared to risk his hide by such bold language; and your correspondent could not help heartily wishing, as he witnessed the old Ohioan Free Soiler spouting and prancing through his speech, for the punishment of his body by the lash."

HOW WE LOOK TO THE REST OF THE WORLD.—The following paragraph is from the London *Pictorial News* of Feb. 27th:

"A grand fight in Congress is reported by the last American mails. It was a general affray, begun, as usual, by the insolence and vulgarity of a slaveholder, who was knocked down by a stalwart Abolitionist; when both sides rushed to war However, they made up the strife at last, and, let us hope, liquored 'some.'"

THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW for February contains ten articles, as follows: Stanhope's History—Walpole and Pulteney; Naples—1848—1858; Scottish Natural Science; Logic of Induction—Mill; Arnold and his School; Proverbs Secular and Sacred; Rambles of a Naturalist, &c.; Capital and Currency; Poetry—the Spasmodists; Recent Publications. American Reprint, by L. Scott & Co., 79 Fulton street.

DANGER IN COLLECTING DEBTS SOUTH.—*To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.*—SIR: An article in your issue of the 24th, showing the "danger of giving credit South," prompts us to show you the "danger of sending claims to Southern lawyers." In 1856, we forwarded a claim against a merchant in Alabama to Messrs. Snap & Co., an eminent legal firm in that State, with instructions to sue it immediately. The receipt of our letter was duly acknowledged, and, after waiting six months without further information, we wrote to know what had been done in the matter; but our eminent legal friends did not deem it necessary to reply to that letter, nor to the several subsequent letters which we addressed them upon the subject. In the meantime, however, we learned indirectly that our debtor was an influential politician and our Mr. Snap a candidate for Congress, and that our claim had not been sued nor any steps taken for its collection. Upon receiving this agreeable information, we wrote Messrs. Snapp & Co., complaining in polite but decided terms of the delay, and suggesting that they had not treated us fairly, and inclosed stamps for reply. To this note we received the following answer:

"———, Alabama, Feb. 1, 1858.

"Messrs. F. G. & Co.—*Sirs*: We are in receipt of your note of the 15th ult., complaining of the course we deemed proper to pursue in relation to your claim against ———. In reply, we have to say that we think it useless to bandy words two thousand miles apart. Our Mr. Snap intends to visit the North during the coming Summer, and upon his arrival in New York he will forward his address to the writer of your note, and hold himself in readiness to give the satisfaction which gentlemen usually demand when they have wrongs, real or imaginary, to redress.

"We inclose herewith Mr. ———'s note; also the postage stamp which you sent in your last letter—we have no use for it.

Your obedient servants,
SNAP & Co.,
"Attorneys and Counsellors at Law."

Now, sir, in view of the above, would you not advise us to leave the city before Snap arrives? Please give us your best advice. We shake in our boots.

F. G. & Co.

BRITISH-AMERICAN UNION.—We observe that an effort is making to unite all the British-American Colonies in one grand Confederacy, which step has a manifest direction towards eventual independence. Two Commissioners of Nova Scotia were instructed to confer with the Colonial Secretary of the Imperial Government on the subject of such union. They were informed by Mr. Labouchere that Her Majesty would be ruled entirely by the wishes of the Colonies themselves on this subject, and, in pursuance of this intimation, Nova Scotia has opened negotiations with the other Provinces, the result of which has not yet transpired. Should the Union be formed, the basis will have been laid for a gigantic superstructure of national independence. The new Confederacy would consist of six Provinces and three Territories, as follows:

	Square miles.	Population.
Canada East	201,989	890,261
Canada West	148,832	952,004
New Brunswick	27,700	193,800
Newfoundland	35,913	101,600
Nova Scotia	18,746	276,117
Prince Edward's Island	2,134	62,678
Total of Provinces	435,314	2,476,460
Hudson's Bay Territory	2,480,000	180,000
Labrador	5,000	100,000
Vancouver Island	8,000	2,000
Totals	2,982,314	2,758,460

With a territory equal to that of the United States, it has a population almost as great as the State of New York; and although the soil and climate of British America may be less inviting than those of other portions of the Continent, it is destined to support an immense population of hardy and happy freemen. The germ has taken root, beyond the lakes, of an empire that shall rank among the great powers of the world, and divide with us the sway of North America. Its past progress and present position give unmistakable augury of a splendid future.—*Times.*

A STORY OF A JACK-KNIFE.—There is a moral in the following story, taken from the Boston *Ledger*. How rarely does it happen—does it ever happen—that any amount of wealth a man may have acquired might not be measured by the amount of virtuous [illegible] that he expended in acquiring it? Was a sudden fortune ever a good fortune?

"In 1786, a youth, then residing in Maine, owned a jack-knife, which he, being of a somewhat trading disposition, sold for a gallon of West India rum. This he retailed, and with the proceeds purchased two gallons, and eventually a barrel, which was followed in due time with a large stock. In a word, he got rich, and became the Squire of the district through the possession and sale of the jack-knife and an indomitable trading industry. He died worth property in real estate and money value for $80,000. This was divided by testament among four children—three boys and a girl. Luck, which seemed to have been the guardian angel of the father, deserted the children; for every folly and extravagance they could engage in seemed to occupy their exclusive attention and cultivation. The daughter married unfortunately, and her patrimony was soon thrown away by her spendthrift of a husband. The sons were no more fortunate, and two of them died in dissipation and in poverty. The daughter also died. The last of the family, for many years past, has lived on the kindness of those who knew him in the days of prosperity, as pride would not allow him to go to the poor-farm. A few days ago he died, suddenly and unattended, in a barn where he had laid himself down to take a drunken sleep. On his pockets being examined all that was found in them was a small piece of string *and a jack-knife!* So the fortune that began with the implement of that kind left its simple duplicate. We leave the moral to be drawn in whatever fashion it may suggest itself to the reader, simply stating that the story is a true one, and all the facts well known to many whom this relation will doubtless reach."

MARRIED.

HOOPES—BARNARD.—On the 11th instant, at the house of Eusebius and Sarah Marsh Barnard, by the order of Progressive Friends, Elwood Hoopes of Westtown township to Minerva S. Barnard, of Pocopson, all of Chester County, Pa.

DIED.

EARLE.—In Blackstone, Mass., March 9th, Sarah H. Earle, wife of Hon. John Milton Earle, of Worcester, aged 58 years.

Thus has suddenly passed to the Spirit-land, one of the brightest, purest, loveliest spirits ever tabernacled in earthly form—a model wife and mother—an early, steadfast and most efficient friend of the Anti-Slavery cause, whose loss is irreparable—and greatly honoured and beloved by all who knew her.—*Liberator.*

Advertisements.

A HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE
FOR
SLAVERY EXTENSION OR RESTRICTION
IN THE
UNITED STATES,
FROM THE
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE PRESENT DAY.

Mainly compiled and condensed from the Journals of Congress and other Official Records, and showing the vote by yeas and nays on the most important divisions in either House.

BY HORACE GREELEY.

This valuable pamphlet the Society have been able to purchase very much below its cost, and will sell at wholesale or retail at a very low rate. It is for sale at the Anti-Slavery Offices 138 Nassau street, New York; 21 Cornhill, Boston; and 105 North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

PENNSYLVANIA FEMALE COLLEGE for the Education of Young Women.

Parents having daughters to educate may, at this College, secure for them advantages rarely to be met with at other Female Seminaries.

It is furnished with every facility for imparting thorough and systematic instruction in any or all the branches of learning, both solid and ornamental.

Special attention is given to preparing young ladies for Teachers in Common Schools and higher Seminaries, and to providing them, when qualified, with remunerative employment.

The domestic accommodations are genteel, and the charges very moderate.

The Institution, being conducted on liberal principles, has heretofore enjoyed a generous patronage, and, with confidence, we look to the discerning and liberal-minded for the continuance of their favour.

The Summer Session will open April 26th. For Circulars, address the Principal,
J. W. SUNDERLAND,
Perkiomen Bridge P. O., Montgomery Co. Pa.

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Money received on deposit, payable on demand, and interest allowed.

For parties desiring it, we will make investments in such securities as in our judgment will be safest and most productive.

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THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY
FOR APRIL,
IS NOW READY,
AND FOR SALE BY
ALL BOOKSELLERS AND NEWSMEN.
PHILLIPS, SAMPSON & CO.,
Publishers, Boston.

Miscellaneous Department.

For The Standard.

TO MISS ——— ———, WITH MY CACTUS.

Mere keep-sakes—mementos of self—I have none:
But to thee, my fair friend, I have given,
When asked for a fish, Heaven knows, not a stone—
Tho' Heaven's truth thy dear heart may have riven.

I gave thee, Rebecca, what to me had mcre cost
Than the gems and the gold of a life's tender garner;
Tho' which needed the discipline, thou or I, most,
I leave unto Him, the one great, loving Warner.

For the truth that subjects us to anger or scorn—
To false judgments from those who see not our clear duty—
Is not this of more worth, of love holier born,
Than light offerings of sense on the altar of beauty?

The world's tinsel—its gewgaws—for me have small charm;
E'en its opals and diamonds—what have they of merit
But that which they gather from sentiment warm,
Which sees in the gem the pure token of spirit?

The flower hath more meaning, more virtue, more life:
And this hath a deeper—a sweeter—another,
Apart from the frail ones which bide no wild strife:
'Twas the rearing—the last—of my own sainted mother!

As it sends from its succulent leaves, spite the thorn,
Its blossoms of purity, splendour, and lightness,
If it briefly recall thy life's vanishing morn,
May it point to an evening of love's purest brightness.

Poughkeepsie, March, 1858. A. P. C.

MRS. MARTINEAU ON THE INDIA QUESTION.

Suggestions toward the Future Government of India. By Harriet Martineau. Smith, Elder & Co. 1858.

Such an incredible quantity of trash has been written about the Indian mutiny and the "Indian question" generally, during the last six or seven months, that it is refreshing in the extreme to alight upon a work like this, which, although not the growth of actual experience and inquiry in India, is wanting in none of the advantages derivable from those accidents. We may say most truthfully of these "Suggestions," that whilst we have never seen a work written by one of Indian antecedents or trained in the theory and practice of Indian government from early youth, with so clear an impression of all the essentialities of the great question now agitating the public mind, we know many who, having spent all their lives in India, consider themselves especially qualified to instruct the community, but who in comparison with the thoughtful and sagacious writer of this volume are little better than sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. These are the genuine, honest utterances of a clear, sound understanding—an understanding neither obscured nor enfeebled by party prejudice or personal selfishness. For our own parts, we wonder how any reasonable being can dissent from the proposition thus laid down in the very first page of the work:

"If we take time to collect, and reason from, all procurable knowledge on the subject of India, we may make arrangements for which the whole world will be the better. If we hastily decide that India shall be a crown colony, ruled directly and entirely from England, according to existing British notions and habits of colonial government, we shall lose India, speedily, disgracefully, and so disastrously that the event will be one of the most conspicuous calamities in the history of nations. If it is true that this is the alternative before us, every man's duty is plain—to exert himself to avert a hasty decision, first, and to procure a wise one afterwards."

The next important proposition is equally undeniable. We have insisted upon it ourselves, in another department of this journal; but however obvious it may be, it has really impressed itself on the minds of a comparatively few people, and, unfortunately, upon the understandings of a comparatively small portion of our legislators:

"For the first time we have to decide on a method of governing a vast territory and population without aid from precedent or analogy. Even if we made no change at all in the apparatus of government, it would be a new departure, because it would be a choice—a deliberate adoption of a scheme of rule; and to such a choice there is no parallel in our history, nor perhaps in any other. Our great privilege as a nation is, that our British institutions have grown up, naturally and inevitably, from our character and our circumstances together. No man, or body of men, ever invented, or even foresaw, our constitution, as we are living under it now."

It appears that there are constitution-mongers in the present House of Commons who think it as easy to strike off a new form of government for a hundred and fifty millions of people, of different colours and different creeds, as to write an order for the strangers' gallery, or draw a cheque on their bankers. The idea suggested by the question, "Have you ever done such a thing before?" is something quite new to the majority of those who have voted in favour of what is called the "elimination" of the East India Company from our future schemes of government, and have believed at the same time that they were really doing only a very small thing. The "small thing" is a total departure from all those principles and rules of action which have hitherto enabled us to maintain this mighty anomaly of our Anglo-Indian government. We are proposing henceforth to govern India not for the sake of the Indians, but for the sake of a parliamentary majority. Could any more vital truth than the following be enunciated?

"Already the nation prefers the company's generals to the Queen's; and as other departments of service are laid open to view, the superiority will everywhere appear on the same side. Important as this is, there is a consideration (before touched upon) which is more vital still; that India has long been, and now is, governed on behalf of the Indians; whereas, from the hour when so-called parliamentary government should be instituted, that aim could never more be steadily maintained and fulfilled. No practical citizen will assert that it could; for the steady maintenance of such an aim can be looked for only from a special association (under whatever name) of men of special rare knowledge, qualified for their task by a lifetime of such experience as no man can pick up in parliament, or attain anywhere in a hurry. When we cease to rule India for the Indians, we lose India; and to vest the service of India in the Horse Guards and our civil departments is to hand over India and the Indians to parties whose distinctive characteristic it is to regard all public service as a patrimony of their own."

Here is an enlargement of the same idea:

"On this head the public are provided with a notion and a wish. They see that wherever the officials of the imperial government and those of the company come into comparison, the superiority of the latter is conspicuous and unquestionable. The company's military officers, or Queen's officers, well practised in Indian warfare under the company's arrangements, have achieved, wherever tried, successes as brilliant as the failures of the other class have been intolerable. The people of England have less opportunity of knowing how far a similar contrast prevails in the civil service; but it is at least as striking to all who have penetrated into the business offices of the two governments. It is generally understood that nothing, in the way of transaction of business, exists that can compare with the achievements in Leadenhall street, and in most of the offices in India, which are held responsible to the central authority; whereas we are in the habit of hearing a good deal of the opposite weakness, and feeling something of the misfortune of it, in our home administration. The natural inference is that in the highest office, as in both classes of subordinate functions, a nominee of the company would answer better than one appointed by the imperial government. All eyes turn at this moment to Sir John Lawrence as the right man. Whether he be so or not, the general desire should operate as a popular nomination, to check an unpopular one. If it were duly attended to, neither royalty, administration, nor aristocracy, would venture to propose an ordinary home-bred Englishman as the ruler of a hundred millions of men, while there are Anglo-Indians in existence who are familiar with the country and the people, and have proved that they can administer the one and rule the other."

Here is another important "Suggestion"—a suggestion which derives additional force from the accident of the crisis into which the country has just been thrown by a parliamentary majority. What is such a crisis to the East India Company? Does it affect—has it ever affected the policy of that body? Truly, indeed, says Harriet Martineau:

"Through whole centuries of irregular changes and frequent perturbations which Englishmen could control and overrule at home, but which made terrible sport of the interests of our colonies, the government of India has been stable, consistent, as immutable in the eyes of its Indian subjects as a god ruling from a steadfast throne. In so peculiar a case, this has been an inestimable blessing. Its corporate character, and successions of various men, have redeemed its rule from the curse of despotisms—the power of self-will; while its independence of the politics of the day has protected its dominion from the manifold mischiefs of party changes—mischiefs which we admit to be evils at home, though we prefer them to the evils of any other system. To Hindostan the non-political character of the company has been absolutely a vital matter. Our rule there could not have been maintained if the authorities at the India House had been changed as often as the Ministry, and at the same time with the ins and outs of the President in Cannon row. But the benefit has also been great to ourselves at home, though we may only now be beginning to understand the greatness of it. While subject to a constant sense of nightmare under our painful efforts to get the national business done by groups of officials who always and necessarily begin in an incompetent condition, and usually go out of office or change their function as soon as they become equal to their work, so that the conduct of public business is a perpetual irritation to middle-class people who, in their private affairs, are accustomed to efficient performance, it has been a real blessing to have one public body in the midst of us which did work effectively, as far as it undertook to work at all. No doubt it was often jealous in its temper and restrictive in its policy, and repressive and vexatious towards adventurous men; but whatever it undertook to do was done in an orderly, prompt, liberal manner, and with a continuous force which would have been impossible if it had been implicated with the Ministers of the day. Before we abolish such an institution as this we are bound to take care that the government of India is secured, as carefully as hitherto, from being affected by party changes; but so far from such a precaution being a feature of the Ministerial proposal, the plan actually is to bring India within that very sphere of fluctuations to exclusion from which she owes her existence as a dependency of England. Englishmen may now show that they value a blessing before they lose it."

These are truths worth pondering at the present moment. There are others equally weighty in this admirable volume of "Suggestions." Some weeks must necessarily intervene before the Indian question, in all its length and breadth, is again discussed by Parliament. We could hardly suggest any more advantageous preparation for the discussion than the study of the many great truths contained in this volume. To some of these we shall probably have occasion to make incidental reference in the course of the eager and protracted controversy which is looming in the distance. Meanwhile, we cordially recommend all who are honestly in search of the truth not only to peruse, but to re-peruse these pages, and to take to heart, earnestly and ineffaceably, the "Suggestions" which they contain.—*London Daily News.*

SANDALPHON.

Have you read in the Talmud of old,
In the legends the Rabbins have told
Of the limitless realms of the air,
Have you read it—the marvellous story
Of Sandalphon, the Angel of Glory,
Sandalphon, the Angel of Prayer?

How, erect, at the outermost gates
Of the City Celestial he waits,
With his feet on the ladder of light,
That, crowded with angels unnumbered,
By Jacob was seen, as he slumbered
Alone in the desert at night?

The Angels of Wind and of Fire
Chant only one hymn, and expire
With the song's irresistible stress—
Expire in their rapture and wonder,
As harp-strings are broken asunder
By the music they throb to express.

But serene in the rapturous throng,
Unmoved by the rush of the song,
With eyes unimpassioned and slow,
Among the dead angels, the deathless
Sandalphon stands listening, breathless,
To sounds that descend from below—

From the spirits on earth that adore,
From the souls that entreat and implore
In the frenzy and passion of prayer—
From the hearts that are broken with losses,
And weary with dragging the crosses
Too heavy for mortals to bear.

And he gathers the prayers as he stands,
And they change into flowers in his hands,
Into garlands of purple and red;
And beneath the great arch of the portal,
Through the streets of the City Immortal,
Is wafted the fragrance they shed.

It is but a legend, I know—
A fable, a phantom, a show
Of the ancient Rabbinical lore;
Yet the old mediæval tradition,
The beautiful, strange superstition,
But haunts me and holds me the more.

When I look from my window at night,
And the welkin above is all white,
All throbbing and panting with stars,
Among them majestic is standing
Sandalphon the angel, expanding
His pinions in nebulous bars.

And the legend, I feel, is a part
Of the hunger and thirst of the heart,
The frenzy and fire of the brain,
That grasps at the fruitage forbidden,
The golden pomegranates of Eden,
To quiet its fever and pain.

—*Atlantic Monthly.*

BIOGRAPHY OF PUNCH.

Punch is the only publication of a humorous character that has been able to hold its place in England. It commenced as a joint undertaking. Horace Mayhew acting as editor and providing the whole of the literary matter; Landells, the wood engraver, furnishing the illustrations. At the end of about two years of this arrangement, it had not attained the paying point. It then fell into the hands of Messrs. Bradbury & Evans, who engaged the best humorous writers and artists in its support. Mark Lemon was appointed editor, and Douglas Jerrold, Thackeray, and A'Becket were regular contributors. "Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures" were among the earliest contributions that brought it into general popularity, and in the days when Thackeray wrote the snob papers, and Leech and Doyle divided between them the work of illustration, it attained that high position in point of influence and circulation which it has since maintained. It is not now to be compared to what it was at that time in point of wit and genius; there is no Jerrold, or Thackeray, or Doyle among its contributors, but, like many other English institutions, it has held its place despite the evident falling off in talent. With a circulation approaching 40,000, it is worth £12,000 a year, and the two Christmas publications connected with it yield about £3,000 more.

The publication of *Punch* has been the means of bringing out a great deal of humorous and satirical talent, which probably would not otherwise have been heard of. To John Leech's connection with it we are indebted for a perfect gallery of genial illustrations of English and, above all, cockney character. With little imagination, and a very plain sense of humour, Leech's productions are always welcome, and we are not tired of them to the present day, notwithstanding a thousand repetitions and general sameness of style. Richard Doyle has not contributed to *Punch* since the time of the Aggression controversy, when, as a Catholic, he seceded from a publication which satirized Mother Church. It is much to be regretted that the productions of his pencil have thus been lost to the public, since an indisposition to work has kept him from doing almost anything on his own account, the "Adventures of Brown, Jones, and Robinson," and a few occasional trifles, being all of his that has been given to the world for the last six or seven years. We have heard of many things he has had in hand, but none of them have yet come to light. At one time he amused himself with the idea of a daily humorist; *The Morning Roll* was the title, and he actually, for a period of six months, drew a large illustration every morning of the leading topic. The idea went no further, and we do not suppose the *Morning Roll* was intended for anything more than the artist's own exercise and amusement. The public would doubtless have been eager to support an undertaking to which Doyle was the principal daily contributor. Some time ago he was engaged on a series of large drawings, entitled the "State of Parties," *i. e.*, dinner parties, evening parties, &c.; and more recently another work of his has been talked of, but we now hear nothing of its publication.

It may not be generally known that Richard Doyle is the son of the artist who produced the famous H. B. caricatures, which attracted so much attention during the period of more than twenty years. He commenced these caricatures when he was under eighteen years of age, and continued producing them till some of his children had grown up—the secret of their authorship being so well kept that it was not known even in his own family, though the caricatures were the subject of conversation. His children seem to have been all born artists; three of them have followed the profession, and a fourth, who is engaged in a different pursuit, handles the pencil with an easy grace and prolific fancy that most artists might envy. Richard began his public career at the mature age of 12. He had heard his father, on one occasion, say how much he would like a fine horse, a wish, however, which he did not seriously entertain. The boy on his part thought how nice it would be to gratify his parent's desire, which he supposed to be quite a serious one, and he cast about to see if he could not procure the means to buy a horse. He was already an adept in drawing humorous subjects, and the idea occurred to him of offering a publisher some humorous illustrations for letter heads, that style of letter paper being then in use, only the drawings were commonly sketches of places, etc. He went to a publisher in Covent Garden, and the offer was at once accepted. For a set of illustrations he was paid a hundred pounds, and with the money he purchased a fine horse, all unknown to his family. One morning, when they were at breakfast, a noble steed passed before the window, and the groom who led him announced that this was the horse for Mr. Doyle. The surprise of the father may be imagined—it was the greater even than his delight; and as to what was to be done with the horse we never heard how that perplexing difficulty was resolved. Richard Doyle became a contributor to *Punch* when he was sixteen or seventeen. The frontispiece which is now on the title-page is from his pencil; the "Manners and Customs of the English" were by him, and, indeed, he introduced that style of comic mediæval drawing, with its amusing disregard of perspective; and by far the best of the large political drawings that have ever appeared in *Punch* were also his. We miss him now-a-days very much, and would fain see him at his old post again. But we believe he is a lazy dog, and prefers to paint an occasional picture, and enjoy his leisure, the profits of his early labours having placed him above the necessity of regular labour.

Doyle's department in *Punch* is now taken by John Tenniel, an artist of good fancy, and a graceful pencil, but not of striking genius, like his predecessor. Besides Leech and Tenniel, a third artist has for some time been engaged, whose name has escaped us for the present. The numerous birds, owls, ostriches, &c., that figure as initial letters and otherwise, are by him. His style resembles that of Leech, but is rather coarser, and Leech's is by no means refined. Mark Lemon is still the editor, and the places of Jerrold and Thackeray are occupied by Shirley Brooks and Tom Taylor, on whom the mantle of their predecessors can scarcely be said to have descended, though they write a number of clever things. They are both hard-working members of the literary profession, writing, in great profusion, stories, plays, reviews, articles, newspaper articles, and country correspondence, in addition to which Tom Taylor holds the laborious post of Secretary to the Board of Health, to which a handsome salary is attached. Literary men are now-a-days dropping into these situations in England more frequently than used to be the case, and we believe the public service has not suffered by the change.

There have been many imitations of *Punch*, and many rivals to it, but they have all been short-lived and poor in every respect, so that one forgets their very names. There being scarcely enough of comic talent in the country to support *Punch*, it is scarcely to be wondered that every opposition is a failure. Without talent of a very effective style, it is mere throwing away of money to attempt anything of the kind.—*Scottish American Jour.*

UNPUBLISHED POEM BY CAMPBELL.

TO PROFESSOR ANDERSEN FELDBORG, ON PRESENTING HIM WITH A COPY OF MY POEMS CONTAINING AN ODE ON "NELSON'S BATTLE OF THE BALTIC."

Think me not, Danish stranger, a hard-hearted Pagan,
If you find midst my war songs one called "Copenhagen,"
For I thought, when your State joined the Emperor Paul,
We'd a right to play with you the devil and all.
But the next time our fleet went your city to batter,
That attack, I allow, was a scandalous matter,
And I gave it my curse—and I wrote on't a satire.
To bepraise such an action of sin, shame, and sorrow,
I'll be d—d if I would be the Laureate to-morrow!
There is not (take my word) a true Englishman glories
In that deed—'twas a deed of our merciless Tories,
Whom we hate, though they rule us—and I can assure ye
They had swung for't if England had sat as their jury.
But a truce to remembrances blacken'd with pain,
Here's a health to yourself and your country, dear Dane.
As our nations are kindred in language and kind,
May the ties of our blood be the ties of our mind,
And perdition on him who our peace would unbind!
May we struggle not who shall in fight be the foremost,
But the boldest in sense—in humanity warmest.
May you leave us with something like love for our nation,
Tho' we're still curst by Castlereagh's Administration;
But whatever you think, or wherever you ramble,
Think there's one who has lov'd you in England—
TOM CAMPBELL.

London, 30 Foley Place,
Great Portland street, July 11, 1822.

Regarding this poem, which we extract from the *Alloa Advertiser*, the correspondent who sends it to that paper says:

It may be necessary, however to give you a little of the history of the person to whom the poem is addressed, and the way it came into my possession.

I first met with Felborg in Mr. John Grieve's, the patron of Hogg, along with Professor Wilson and other literary characters, and was informed that he had left Copenhagen for this land of freedom in consequence of his political opinions, either written or expressed. He spoke the English language fluently, if not beautifully, and to my mind was a very pleasant and entertaining companion. On his way to Leith, one evening, he called at the hotel where I was staying, leaving with me his scrap-book, for which he was to call on his return. There I found a great many poems, chiefly complimentary, but I had only time to copy but one, which I now send, and which I have no doubt you will give a place in the *Advertiser*. In the spring of 1825 the Professor paid me a visit, and one of our rambles was to the top of Demyat, which both of us enjoyed very much. Here I presented my companion with an illustrated copy of "M'Neil's Poems," which proved appropriate, and, as it seemed, acceptable, beholding, as we did, the "Links of Forth" glittering apparently at our feet. Feldborg published "Denmark Delineated" while in Edinburgh in 1824, a handsome volume, beautifully illustrated by views taken in Denmark. While in this country he intended publishing a volume, entitled, if I mistake not, "Rambles in Scotland," but he left this country rather abruptly, taking with him, as I apprehend, his valuable manuscripts, and many beautiful poems of friends and acquaintances he had visited both in England and Scotland. In the Ettrick Shepherd's poem of "Queen Hynde," Hogg introduces Professor Wilson running a race with he of Denmark, making the latter victor, at which our Professor was highly indignant:

Strain, Feldborg, strain, or thou shalt lose;
His elbow kythes, and eke his nose!
Where are they now? in moment gone!
And Feldborg gains the goal alone!
Elry* lies prostrate on the plain,
Laughing aloud, in breathless pain,
Spurning the land with fitful scream;
While his bright eye's unearthly gleam
Bespoke full well how ill content
His heart was with the incident.
—"*Queen Hynde, Part 5th.*"

Christopher North, at a later period, brings Feldborg forward to notice in more than one number of the celebrated "Noctes." He visited Professor Tennant of Dollar Academy, when in this neighbourhood, but we are not aware if Tennant paid him a poetical adieu.—*Edinburgh Herald.*

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* Professor Wilson.

EARTHQUAKES AND THEIR TREATMENT.

From The Spectator.

It is calculated that more than 30,000 persons, some reckon 40,000, have lost their lives by the recent earthquakes in the kingdom of Naples. In some towns, Montemurro and Saponaro for example, the whole of the inhabitants have perished; in others, Brienza and Tramuttola, the greater part of all living beings were destroyed. In some places the earth opened, swallowing every creature on the face of it. The details of this grand natural phenomenon are altogether frightful; we must go back to times long past to parallel them. Exactly one thousand years ago, at the end of December, 857, a similar catastrophe happened throughout Europe. At that time, however, the ravages of the earthquake extended much further North than at present; even towns on the Rhine, Mayence among them, suffered severely. This proves that, after all, these commotions are losing in intensity, extent, and frequency; for whereas in former times the whole of Europe was frequently disturbed by them, and millions lost their lives, they are at present more rare, they do not extend beyond a single kingdom, and the losses may be counted by thousands. In that long interval there have been many other visitations, but none perhaps so extensively felt as that of 1755, in which the town of Catania was destroyed, a quay at Lisbon was submerged, and the commotion was felt even in this country, the water in Stonehouse Pool, near Plymouth, with the boats upon it, being swayed to and fro like water in a basin that is violently shaken. On the whole, however, observation of the past appears to prove a decline, if not in the horrors of the infliction, still in the extensiveness and in the frequency. Something perhaps may be due to the hyperbole with which ancient writers wrote; but about some of the greatest facts which happened in public, such as the destruction of the quay, there can scarcely be any doubt; and if we trust to the experience of so short a time as a thousand years, we might accept the facts as evidence of a standing supposition that our old earth is gradually cooling down.

But there is one great fact which comes home nearer to us—the total want of any progress in the treatment of these great phenomena. They happen mostly in countries where there is little energy, and where invention is cramped by the artificial bonds of bad government. In Naples we have an intensity of horror and an intensity of inertness. Travellers throughout the districts that have suffered in Naples see towns destroyed, with the inhabitants sitting upon the ruins, mourning, not acting. In Polla the cries of the victims were heard under the ruins; but no assistance could be had. The country people fled in fear; the thousands of men in the pay of the Government were not permitted to come, perhaps did not wish it; and there is reason to suppose that enormous numbers have perished through starvation or suffocation, though they might have been saved by the slightest exertion. It is the custom to leave everything to the Government, and the Government *affects* to act, but does not. While these events are proceeding, the official journal of Naples spontaneously pays worship to the King as to a god upon earth, towards whom his beloved people look—but look in vain; and obeys its instructions to make as light as possible of the ruin and suffering endured. In fact, Government is trying to hush up the earthquake. This is a natural consequence of the rule in a country where the sole object is to subserve the interest of the one man at the top, not of the body of the people; in a country where the journals are under the control of the clergy, as we see now in the case of a journal at Bergamo, whose editor has just made submission.

In our country we can scarcely enter into the mental condition of a people thus governed. If there still are restraints of prejudice, or even of authority in some few cases, we are in the habit of accepting every visitation as the stimulus to a new inquiry. At the present moment, in spite of the material interests engaged, we have volunteers or official investigators exploring mischiefs arising from the influences, natural or artificial, which are injurious to life. Incorporated bodies are inquiring into the best mode of cleansing our towns. Science *anticipates* the suggestions of experience, and points to danger from the use of paper tinted with arsenical colouring matter: the hint is responded to, and fresh evidence is brought against the poison. The papermakers defend their wares; and there is a thorough discussion, which will end, no doubt, in the acquittal or condemnation of the accused. The whole body of graziers is placed under judgment for a course of feeding which tends to results injurious to human health; and that is done in a country where the meat is the best in the world; the graziers themselves not scrupling to assist and patronize the inquiry. The inquiry and experiments in electricity, conducted by Professor Faraday at the Royal Institution, before the Prince of Wales, might challenge suppression under a Neapolitan Government for the freedom and familiarity with which the lecturer handled the element ascribed in ancient times to Jupiter. But who does not feel that, if the Royal Institution were situated at the foot of Vesuvius, that the same bold and searching inquiry would be conducted into the volcano and earthquake? Perhaps the boldest of us would never think of *preventing* the earthquake; but we know that we could not study it without profit; and even if we were not able to counteract its effect upon the globe, we should hope at least to adopt a style of building perhaps more light and elastic, and thus more suited to the neighbourhood. No man can ever tell on the threshold of inquiry what its results will be; but inquiry itself is impossible in a land where the journals are instructed to hush up an earthquake, and are only permitted to exist so long as they make their news mere foot-notes to the sermons of the priesthood.

CHARITY CONTRIBUTION BY WHITTIER'S SISTER.

The Charity Fair in Boston had a post-office, through which was sent the following autograph letter from John G. Whittier:

"Amesbury, 20th 2d Mo., 1858.

"I regret that I have nothing of my own suitable for the occasion, but it gives me pleasure to send the enclosed, written by my sister last evening, with the exception of two or three lines supplied by myself.

"May the God of the poor bless it for His work of love!

John G. Whittier."

The pilgrim and stranger, who through the day
Holds over the desert his trackless way,
Where the terrible sands no shade have known,
No sound of life save his camel's moan,
Hears, at last, through the mercy of Allah to all,
From his tent-door at evening the Bedouins call:
"Whoever thou art whose need is great,
In the name of God, the Compassionate
And Merciful One, for thee I wait!"

For gifts in his name of food and rest
The tents of Islam of God are blest.
Thou, who hast faith in the Christ above,
Shall the Koran teach thee the Law of Love?—
Oh, Christian!—open thy heart and door,
Cry east and west to the wandering poor:
"Whoever thou art whose need is great,
In the name of Christ, the Compassionate
And Merciful One, for thee I wait!"

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

Conversation of Men of Genius.—The great Colbert paid a pretty compliment to Boileau and Racine. This minister, at his villa, was enjoying the conversation of our two poets, when the arrival of a prelate was announced; turning quickly to the servant, he said, "Let him be shown everything except myself."—*Disraeli's Curiosities of Literature.*

——An American M.D. has brought to England the Canadian, Alexis St Martin, who has been frequently mentioned in physiological works, as having a hole in his side through which the interior of his stomach can be seen. The visit will doubtless be taken advantage of by our physiologists to settle some of the unsettled points in the phenomena of digestion.

——A gentleman, in conversation with Dr. Johnson, having, to some of the usual arguments for drinking, added this,

"You know, sir, drinking drives away care, and makes us forget whatever is disagreeable; would you not allow a man to drink for that reason?"

Johnson replied, "Yes, sir, if he sat next *you*."

——How to Ruin your Health.—*Punch* gives the following rules for ruining your health: 1st. Stop in bed late; 2d. Eat hot suppers; 3d. Turn day into night, night into day; 4th. Take no exercise; 5th. Always ride when you can walk; 6th. Never mind about wet feet; 7th. Have half a dozen doctors; 8th. Drink all the medicine they send you; 9th. Try every new quack; 10th. If that doesn't kill you, quack yourself.

——At a book auction at Paris, a few days ago, the first volume of a "Biblia Sacra" of 1462, in folio, on parchment, and unbound, was sold for £21. The remaining volumes of the work are lost. The edition of the Bible of 1462 is the first with a date known in France. A copy of the "Roman de la Rose," on parchment and illuminated, was knocked down at the same sale for £10 10s.

——A little printing-press has been sent from Paris to Constantinople. It is to find its place in the harem of Ribardy Effendi, and will be used exclusively for the benefit of the Turkish ladies. The wife of Ribardy Effendi is said to be well versed in French and English belles-lettres, and intends to publish a collection of the best occidental novels in a Turkish translation. The enterprising lady is busy turbaning Mr. Thackeray's "Newcomes."

——One of the occupants of a huge public bedroom in an American hotel shook the room with his snoring. Another went up to his bedside, and shook him. "Are you aware, sir, that you are talking in your sleep, and betraying all the secrets of the Central Alligator Bank? We have already ascertained that you are the chairman, and that——." An ominous whisper closed the sentence, and the chairman of the Central Alligator slept no more.

——Irish Proverbs.—(By the Cove of Cork.)—Men of straw don't make the best bricks. It's a narrow bed that has no turning. When money is sent flying out of the window, it's poverty that comes in at the door. The pig that pleases to live must live to please. One man may steal a hedge, whereas another daren't even as much as look at a horse. Some rents make long friends—and it holds equally good with your landlord and your clothes. The mug of a fool is known by there being nothing in it. You may put the cart before the horse, but you can't make him eat. Money makes the gentleman, the want of it the blackguard. When wise men fall out, then rogues come by what is not their own.—*Punch.*

——Liberty in Germany.—Our review of Otto Ludwig Heubner's "English Poets, from Chaucer to Tennyson, with a German Translation," has been the cause of a press lawsuit before a German Court of Justice. Herr Fritzsche, editor of the *Dresdener Volkszeitung*, had noticed our article in a recent number of his paper, quoting at the same time the following passage from it: "It is pleasant to see the English Muse visiting the prisons. It is one of her noblest missions. She is the Muse of the Free, and it befits her to bring consolation to those who bear chains for Liberty's sake." Herr Fritzsche, for having published to his readers these dangerous words, has been sentenced to four years' imprisonment. Von Rechtswegen!—*London Athenæum.*

——Another Tooth will Answer as Well.—Another sorrow has fallen upon Salerno. "No sooner," says the London *Daily News*, "has the panic occasioned by the earthquake begun to cease, than the population are again alarmed by another sad event. The tooth of St. Matthew, the Bishop, one of the precious relics of the church, has been stolen. It disappeared during the agitation consequent on the late disaster, and this incident is another proof of that moral disorder which is often perceptible in times of great social distress. The bishop has ordered the excommunication of the sinner, but to no effect; processions with torches have been made, all equally useless; the precious relic is not to be found."

——Baron Munchausen.—Miss Brewster (daughter of Sir David), in her "Letters from Cannes and Nice," says: "Baron Munchausen is at Nice! My father met him at a pic-nic the other day, and heard from him the history of his celebrated namesake. One of his ancestors had a chaplain who was famous for 'drawing a long bow,' told, in fact, the most false and extravagant stories. His patron, the Baron of those days, wrote a book out-Heroding Herod, being a collection of still more marvellous adventures, for the purpose of shaming the priest, for which laudable design he was punished, by having his own name held up to posterity as *the* story-teller *par excellence*." This shows that it is very dangerous to lie, even in jest. The Munchausens are a Hanoverian family.

——A Philosopher Thrashed by a Fool.—The fools and the philosophers were not always identical, and they often came in contact, as was to be expected. We have an instance in the buffoon Satyrion, named by Lucian, and the grave Alcidamas, who wrote a treatise on death. The sage could not tolerate the fun, and the Egyptian accent of the ugly and close-cropped fool; and when the latter called the man of wisdom a "lap-dog," the philosopher challenged him to single combat. Some of the guests were ashamed, and some laughed, to see sciolist and sage heartily belabouring each other; but the laughter was universal when the philosopher, beaten to a mummy, confessed himself vanquished, and afterwards stood as mute as a courtesan in a Greek play.—*Dr. Doran's History of Court Fools.*

——Atrocities of Spanish Guerillas.—The retreat from Moscow he described in all its horrors; for when he pleased he could paint well, and delineate things as if he had poetry in his soul. I spoke lightly to him of the Spanish guerillas, and he corrected me. They were not at all formidable to regular troops prepared for them, but, notwithstanding this, they were among the most dangerous enemies in the world. It required incessant watchfulness to guard against their attacks. They were merciless, and destroyed all stragglers. Those led by the priests were horribly inhuman. He had known them strip French soldiers naked, tie them to trees, and over the heart fix, with a bodkin, a bit of coloured cloth for a bull's eye, and then shoot them to death for amusement.—*Cyrus Redding's Fifty Years' Recollections.*

——M. Lamartine writes to the *Siecle* to repudiate with astonishment a charge, alleged to be founded on the evidence of the late M. Brifaut, the academician, that his novel of "Graziella" was a piracy from Count Forbin. "Graziella" was a reminiscence of the age of eighteen—the first tear of his heart—a tear which his heart had kept warm like a dewdrop in a hollow of a rock, and which at last flowed over a page of his works. If he had robbed this tear-drop from M. Forbin, he would have been worse than a plagiarist, he would have committed sacrilege, for of all property there is none more entirely personal, more sacred, more inviolable than a tear. Of tears M. Lamartine has enough of his own, without stealing from any one.

——The English Schoolmaster Abroad.—The popular ignorance of this enlightened age is something astounding. Only the other day, a zealous antiquary, looking for Dryden's house, in Fetter lane, made some inquiry of the policeman. "Dryden, sir," said the latter, "Dryden? Is he a man a little backward in his rent?" Less excusable was the observation of an eminent silversmith to a customer, who, admiring some exquisite piece of silver chasery, remarked, "How this would have delighted Cellini!" "We shall be happy to show it to Mr. Cellini, any day he will look in," was the polite observation, in reply. To ascend in the scale, we may remark that we have heard of a knight who, on having Runnymede pointed out to him, looked very unconscious that a landmark of history was before him; but, on being told that it was the spot where the Barons forced King John to sign Magna Charta, exclaimed, "*Forced* His Majesty! did they indeed? how very improper!" Let us go a step higher still, and take an illustration from that sprig of nobility who, having failed in a competitive examination, was asked by a good-natured friend how it happened. "Oh!" said the rejected candidate, "it was all through a fellow who asked me questions I didn't expect." "What did he examine you in?" "Oh! history!" answered the young aristocrat. "Ancient or modern?" "Ancient or modern!" exclaimed the youth, with an air of the most intense disgust, "oh, ever so long before either; *time of William the Conqueror!*"—*London Athenæum.*

——Table-Turning in China.—Table-turning and spiritual manifestations are not unknown in China. In this, as in many other things, they are in advance of the practitioners among ourselves. The mode of carrying on this operation is somewhat different from that in vogue in the United States. The table is turned upside down, upon a pair of chopsticks, laid at right angles over the mouth of a mortar or bowl, filled with water. Four persons lay one hand upon each leg of the table, while the other clasps the free hand of one of the four, and thus the circle is completed. An incantation is now chanted by the "medium," and soon the table begins to move. The "circle" move with it, and in a minute it is whirling violently upon its axis, until it is thrown violently off its balance, and falls upon the floor. The motion of the table is universally attributed to supernatural agency, but it seems not to have been used as a means of communication with the spirit world.

——A Useful Suggestion.—Toads are most useful reptiles, and devour thousands of small insects that would otherwise eat up the vegetation. Gardeners well know this when they turn them into the hothouses. As proof, I subjoin this testimony from a gardener: "In the autumn of last year a pit wherein I grew mellons was so much infested with ants as to threaten the destruction of the whole crop which they did first by perforating the skin, and afterwards eating their way into the fruit; and, after making several unsuccessful experiments to destroy them, it occurred to me that I had seen the toads feed on them. I accordingly put half-a-dozen toads into the pit, and in the course of a few days hardly a single ant was to be seen." There is just now a plague of ants in many of the London houses which defy extermination. I strongly recommend those who are troubled with these plagues to try whether a toad or two won't help them.—*Buckland's Curiosities of Natural History.*

——The Canadian Institute are trying to organize a plan, proposed by Professor Kingston of Toronto, for telegraphing the approach of storms. Twenty stations are fixed on, ranging from Halifax to Goderich in Upper Canada; and it is thought the plan may be worked at a cost of two hundred dollars a year. One of the data on which it is based is "that gales prevail in some localities many hours, sometimes two or three days, before they reach other places only a few miles distant." Hence half-hourly signals may be flashed along the coast of the sea and of the great lakes, and mariners may prepare for the blast, or get out of the way; and landsmen may be warned of the hurricanes that rush at times with fearful destruction across the fields and forests. Toronto is to be the central station; and there tabulated records will be kept of all the phenomena.—*Chambers's Journal.*

——A Nice Point of Law.—Two Quakers applied to their Society, as they do not go to law, to decide in the following difficulty: A. is uneasy about a ship that ought to have arrived, meets B., an insurer, and states his wish to have the vessel insured. The matter is agreed upon. A. returns home and receives a letter informing him of the loss of his ship. What shall he do? He is afraid the policy is not filled up, and should B. hear of the matter soon, it is all over with him; he therefore writes to B. thus: "Friend B., if thee hasn't filled up the policy, thee needn't, for I've heard of the ship." "Oh, oh!" thinks B. to himself, "cunning fellow; he wants to do me out of the premium." So he writes thus to A.: "Friend A., thee be'st too late by half an hour; the policy is filled." A. rubs his hands with delight; yet B. refuses to pay. Well, what is the decision? The loss is divided between them. —*Essays contributed to Blackwood's Magazine by the Rev. John Eagles, M.A.*

——New Home of the Pitcairn Islanders.—As we have from time to time noted the movements of the Pitcairn islanders, we take the opportunity here to mention that Sir W. Denison, Governor of Tasmania, has paid them a visit in their new home on Norfolk Island, and established a form of government for them. It is essentially domestic. On the day after Christmas day in every year, they are to meet to elect their chief magistrate, who must not be under the age of twenty-eight. Every man of twenty-one is entitled to vote. The chaplain is intrusted with considerable powers; he is the returning-officer, and has the entire charge of education. Among the regulations for preserving the moral and physical welfare of the singularly interesting community, one is, that no beer or spirits shall be used on the island except as medicine. What will become of their old home, the lonely islet? left now to the care of nature, or to be a resort of whalers? —*Chambers's Journal.*

——Baron Von Humboldt.—One of the most distinguished guests, and one of the latest arrivals at the brilliant ball given by Lord Bloomfield at Berlin on Monday night, was Baron Von Humboldt, now in his 90th year, but still fresh in intellectual and conversational powers, and in his relish for the pleasures of society. He allows (says a correspondent) neither his advanced age nor his great acquirements and world-wide fame to entitle him to any dispensation from the minutest and most scrupulous attention to etiquette and costume; he willingly condescends to assume his chamberlain's costume and his numerous orders, with all the careful attention to exterior befitting the most youthful and modest aspirant to court favour. His health, however, gives frequent occasions of uneasiness to his friends and admirers, though he rallies from each attack most surprisingly rapidly; it was only on Monday afternoon that the King and Queen drove into Berlin on purpose to inquire after his health, and in the evening he was at Lord Bloomfield's ball.—*London Daily News.*

——Humour in the Pulpit.—Old Bishop Aylmer, seeing his congregation pretty generally asleep, took his Hebrew Bible from his pocket, and read a chapter, which roused attention, when the old minister sharply rebuked them for sleeping when they might have understood him, and listening when they knew not a word he said. Of the witty Dr. South, it is said that, preaching before King Charles, he saw that potentate asleep; he stopped short, and, in a loud and altered tone of voice, three times called out, "Lord Lauderdal." His lordship stood up and looked at the preacher, who addressed him with great composure, "My lord, I am sorry to interrupt your repose, but I must beg of you not to snore so loud, lest you should wake the King." Andrew Fuller, one Sunday afternoon, saw the people, during the singing of the hymn before sermon, composing themselves for a comfortable nap; and, taking the Bible, he beat it against the side of the pulpit, making a great noise. Attention being excited, he said, "I am often afraid that I preach you to sleep, but it can't be my fault to-day, for you are asleep before I have begun."

——The Negro Question.—The poor black who was made to toil under a burning sun for the hardest fare and the scantiest clothing, whose habitation was of the most wretched description, is now better fed, better clothed and better housed where freedom and industry have gone hand in hand; but, because the despised race will not exhaust their bodily constitution by working like slaves, there is an insidious attempt being made to introduce black apprentices into our British West Indian plantations. It is certainly grievous to learn that our wealthy West Indian planters, who grew rich by the aid of the whip and slavery, and who spent their cursed gains in England, purchasing constituencies with gold wrung from bleeding bondsmen, are not such Nabobs as they were formerly; but for this suffering on the part of a few, we have a set-off in the improved condition of the many; and we hold that the Supreme Being, when He ordained that man should live by the sweat of his brow, never intended that one set of cunning or civilized beings should buy coloured men in Africa, and make them work harder than any beast of the field, to satisfy the luxurious cravings of nations who lay claim to the boast of their freedom, greatness and advanced intelligence.—*Scarborough (Yorkshire) Journal.*

——The Visible World.—So instructive is the affinity of the emotions and affections with the beauty of the visible world that a combination between them takes place even when this beauty presents itself under conditions of extreme disadvantage. Take an instance—railways careering, as they do, over chimney-pots of great towns, give us an insight into the attic life of such places, and we see what are its discomforts, and what may be its embellishments too. On the window-sill of a topmost paper-patched casement there are flower-pots—two or three with bright geraniums; there is also a choice balsam, just now in magnificent bloom. But look at the Spitalfields proprietor of these floral treasures! To tend them is his first care in the foggy morning. Squalid, indeed, in aspect is this amateur; and as to his breakfast, which must be shared with a craving family, it falls short of sufficiency for seven. Nevertheless, half-starved as he is—worn with eighteen or twenty hours' labour, and his haggard, heart-sick Eve by his side, and his ill-conditioned progeny about him, with annoyances accumulated, and almost all things convenient absent, yet, this man is a *man*, and, therefore, beautiful nature and he shall not be sundered. Man will cling to a memento of his paradise; nor shall any ordinary sufferings wean him from this, his primeval felicity; and so it is that if this grudging world, with its boundless superfluities, can spare him nothing more, he will yet make himself as happy as a lord, with a single flower-pot and a balsam in bloom.—*Isaac Taylor's World of Mind.*

——Santa Filomena.—The saint referred to in last week's *Inquirer* as having been compared by Longfellow to Miss Nightingale is not a "creation of the poet's fancy." The following particulars may be found in "Letters from Italy," by Catharine Taylor: Not long ago, a Sicilian priest, whose church had lost much of its popularity, and whose pocket suffered sensibly by the falling off of his congregation, determined to make a vigorous effort to regain his flock and his revenue. For this purpose he undertook a journey to Rome, and obtained leave from the Pope to visit the catacombs, and take thence some saintly relics. He eagerly began his search, and finding a skeleton in a tomb with an inscription partly obliterated, but in which the words "Philo Mena" were still visible, he possessed himself of the treasure, and christened his new saint "Filomena." Depositing the bones in a box which was strapped behind the carriage, he set out on his journey home. He had not proceeded far, when he was surprised by a loud knocking at the back of the coach. He looked out, but saw no one. It was repeated, and he then became aware that the saint was highly displeased at the indignity shown in placing her in such a situation. The priest, anxious to make all the reparation in his power, removed the box to the seat opposite him. Still, the saint was restless, and resumed the knocking; and it was not until she was placed in the post of honour, with her face to the horses, that she was satisfied. The story then goes on to say that she revealed the circumstances of her life, and stated that she was the daughter of a captive king, brought to Rome by Diocletian, and that she there suffered martyrdom. The priest's mission was eminently successful. The fame of the miracles wrought by the new saint brought crowds of pilgrims to her shrine, and plenty of money to his coffers. —Roma.—*London Inquirer.*

——Discovery of a Roman Historian.—While classical scholars deplore the loss of considerable portions of Livy and other Roman writers, accident has led to the discovery of certain fragments of a historian whose name is scarcely known—viz., Gaius Granius Licinianus. In 1853 Doctor Pertz, of Berlin, well known in the literary world, had occasion to examine some of the Syriac manuscripts brought over, in 1847, from the convents of St. Mary, in the desert of Nitria, to the north-west of Cairo, and now deposited in the British Museum. Dr. Pertz, perceiving a palimpsest (a pamphlet from which a former writing has been effaced in order to make room for a subsequent one) among the number, examined it more closely, and succeeded in reading a few of the words imperfectly scraped out. Convinced thereby that the palimpsest must contain some historical fragment, he obtained permission to treat it with certain chemical substances with which old and faded writings may be brought to light again. The operation succeeded, but the labour of deciphering was considerable, because, in many places, the Syriac characters covered and coincided with the lines of the Roman ones. At length, with the aid of his son, the work was completed, and it has just been published at Berlin. Licinianus wrote before Livy, and appears to have flourished about the time of Julius Cæsar. The fragments hitherto published are interesting, in so far as they confirm or explain certain obscure passages of other authors. The palimpsest from which they have been obtained was all written over thrice, so that the difficulty of deciphering them may easily be conceived.

——Various Estimates of Happiness.—In all ages, amongst every people, by each class, do we find different notions of happiness entertained. To the wandering Gypsy a home is tiresome; whilst a Swiss is miserable without one. Progress is necessary to the well-being of the Anglo-Saxons; on the other hand, the Esquimaux are content in their squalid poverty, have no latent wants, and are still what they were in the days of Tacitus. An Irishman delights in a row; a Chinese in pageantry and ceremonies; and the usually apathetic Javan gets vociferously enthusiastic over a cock-fight. The heaven of the Hebrew is a "city of gold and precious stones, with a supernatural abundance of corn and wine"; that of the Turk, a harem peopled by houris; that of the American Indian, a "happy hunting ground"; in the Norse paradise there were to be daily battles, with magical healing of wounds; whilst the Australian hopes that he shall "jump up a white fellow, and have plenty of sixpences."

Descending to individual instances, we find Louis XIV. interpreting "greatest happiness" to mean—making locks; instead of which his successor read—making empires. It was seemingly the opinion of Lycurgus that perfect physical development was the chief essential to human felicity; Plotimus, on the contrary, was so purely ideal in his aspirations as to be ashamed of his body. Indeed, the many contradictory answers given by Grecian thinkers to the question, What constitutes Happiness? have given occasion for comparisons that have now become trite.

——The Letters of a Betrothed.—We laugh at the "Polite Letter-writers" of a former age; yet they were something, at all events, to the inditer of a less *schoolly*-educated generation, who had nothing to work upon. They embraced most of the prosaic occurrences of life. We do not remember whether they contained a lady's acceptance of a proposal; we are quite sure they did not extend through the varying incidents of a "long engagement," with the lover's absence, the betrothed's tour to Paris, many little incidents and numerous fancies, till the last epistle previous to the ceremony—"The thought grows frightful, 'tis so wildly dear." We are quite certain that none of the old epistolary correspondence directories had the elegant literature of this volume, or its feminine grace and animation of style and sentiment, with an earnest glow of feeling, whose exhibition in a single young woman would have caused our grandmothers to put their fans before their faces. Whether it is quite so safe a guide to follow as those more practical productions, we cannot tell; though it is ever so much better to read. Would this outpouring on some hitch in the correspondence be a safe experiment, especially in too frequent doses of such strength?

"Then, when the postman arrives, I sit down, sick and faint, saying, 'He has no letter, I know he has none,' while I listen with all my life in my ears for the step that is to bring it to me. And it does not come; a passionate despair overwhelms me, and I feel as if it never, never can come now, and as if I could not support a renewal of this suffering for another twenty-four hours.

"And I can do nothing! there is the terrible part. It is this forced inaction that wears me so frightfully; another day's hope gone; and what is there for it? just to sit down saying, 'Wait, *perhaps* to-morrow may bring a letter, perhaps the day after, perhaps a week, perhaps never! but there is nothing you can do; so sit down and *wait!*' Frank, *is* it your fault, this suffering I endure? If it be in any degree whatsoever, for God's sake do not again subject me to it, for the burden is greater than I can bear. Is it your misfortune? are you ill? No answer, no answer! nothing but a stony silence mocking me."—*Spectator.*

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